for women to work in the public sphere, but more females were finding employment outside of their households each year and job opportunities seemed to exist; indeed, the organization found it difficult to keep up with the demands of local government offices for their trained typists. Women of Herat had shown most interest recently in literacy courses and in learning rug weaving, and they planned to expand these activities in the near future. The organization also provided a catering service to both offices and homes; orders for special foods were placed one day in advance, and students in the home economics courses prepared them. Just during our short interfiew, two requests were received from government offices by telephone, and this novel activity appeared to be very successful. Approximately a 20 afghani (50¢) profit was made from each order.

Herat is almost 600 miles from Kabul and, as to be expected, the staff noted that communications with the center was quite poor. When their typewriters were in need of repair, it was necessary to send them all the way to the capital city because no local facilities for such work exist, and sometimes the machines never returned.

The training of better female teachers was thought to be crucial by these women. Another area which they felt to be of utmost necessity was the establishment of nurseries so that females could more easily work in the public sphere.

* * *

In June I spoke with Suraya, a woman of about thirty-five with a background in law who is President of the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization. In addition to outlining the 13-year history of her political group, she discussed some post-revolutionary plans for their organization. It was first mentioned that a number of laws which pertain to Afghan women will be changed for their benefit, and that ADWO will see to it that more females are made aware of the existence of their legal rights; literacy of women was also seen to be crucial. "But it will take time...it's only 46 days since the revolution and we can't right all wrongs immediately...in three years women's status in Afghanistan will be different." Teams of women had been sent to each provincial branch of the organization (whose personnel had also been changed) to review their regional activities and specific problems; the teams had not returned to Kabul at that point, but when they did, there was to be a general meeting to discuss their findings. "With dedication we'll succeed in reaching rural women...women from the provinces will work in their home regions and they won't come to Kabul and stay."

Suraya said that they will strongly encourage women to work ... "They must obtain sufficient salaries...

Kabul kindergartens was said to be lowered to one-tenth of its previous price. Remuneration for women who prepare handicrafts for the organization was to be increased, while at the same time the cost of the articles in the gift shop was going to be lowered so that more customers would buy them. Arranged with the Ministry of Commerce were to be women's cooperatives in rug weaving and other activities.

Conferences are to be encouraged at the organization, as is communication with women in other countries. Suraya noted that in May a group of women representing ADWO attended a conference of the International Democratic Federation of Women in Moscow; 118 countries were said to have been represented at the event.

When I asked the President what types of professions she felt that Afghan women should be encouraged to enter, she said, "I want to see Afghan women have the opportunity to be whatever they want--even pilots. It should be their choice completely. But the professions most needed today in Afghanistan are those of physician, teacher, and nurse."

Also in June I spoke with Dr. Anahita Ratebzad, an enthusiastic middle-aged physician, who was at that time Minister of Social Affairs. Since then she has assumed an ambassadorial post, but her comments concerning Afghan women are nonetheless worthy of mention. Dr. Ratebzad first discussed the situation of Afghanistan as a whole, and stated that women's low status was basically a reflection of the nation's poor economy. She recalled her schooling, and noted that although educational facilities have increased year by year, especially for females in urban areas, the economy has not advanced enough to allow them to make use of their skills and effectively participate in their country's development.

In addition, Anahita stated that "Afghan women lack self-confidence because they have been socialized to be subservient. They are servants in their own households who must be enlightened." Although she saw the education of women to be the key to their advancement, the minister also mentioned that conservative orientations must also be changed. "Even university graduates of both sexes say that Mohammad told us that women should be like this or like that...but Mohammad wouldn't have made these proclamations today! Our world has changed since his time!" In addition, she stated that mullahs (Islamic religious leaders) themselves must advocate women's rights.

With respect to future programs involving women, Dr. Ratebzad saw provincial cities and towns as centers from which contact with rural females would be made. She said that the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization will establish "women's houses" throughout each region--initially in urban settings and later in rural areas--where females will assemble to undertake income-generating activities such as embroidery, rug and basket

weaving, fruit packaging, sack making, etc. Alongside these houses, kindergartens and nurseries are to be established to care for their children. The ADWO will be responsible for finding local markets for the women's products and, having met recently with the Minister of Commerce, Anahita said that he had promised to arrange foreign markets for such. I asked her about female agricultural activities such as dairying and poultry raising, and it was mentioned that she had also met recently with the Minister of Agriculture. They plan to begin small factories for the production of cheese, milk, etc., and employ women in the units. "I also told him that women are generally cleaner than men," she said with a laugh.

Having served as a physician in rural public health projects, the Minister admitted that this work would not be without difficulty, and she felt that the major value of all of these undertakings was the opportunity to increase females' self-esteem as they become more active financial contributors to their family economies.

When questioned about what types of additional training are most needed for educated Afghan women, she stated that the development of a cadre of understanding female teachers who would encourage their students to be creative and ask questions is of primary importance; this is unfortunately not the case in the Afghan educational system at present. Throughout our conversation, Dr. Ratebzad mentioned a number of times that the new government was in need of financial assistance, and she was extremely interested in the establishment of future training programs and related projects for women.

WOMEN'S COORDINATING COMMITTEE/ORGANIZATION FOR THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF WOMEN

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Information and Culture, the Women's Coordinating Committee (Committee Ensejam) as part of the Organization For the Enlightenment of Women (Sozman-i-Tanwir-i-Afkor-i-Zanaan) was established during Women's International Year in 1975. Largely a voluntary group, their initial activities were energetic and included the formation of provincial coordinating committees to improve the general status of Afghan women. Recently, however, their major undertaking has been the production of a morning radio program, *Family Life*; short dramas about various family problems are broadcast. In addition, questions concerning family-related conflicts sent in by listeners are answered. When I visited the committee's office following the revolution, I was told that it had recently been merged with the ADWO.

WOMEN AND EDUCATION:

Education for Afghan females constitutes a major route toward viable employment and participation in their nation's process of development. Thus a number of educators were spoken with in both Kabul and provincial centers; these dedicated individuals' comments furnish valuable insights concerning present female involvement in this area--as both students and teachers--and also illustrate some of the difficulties they encounter. Some examples are included below.

In the northern town of Balkh (population: 6,000), we met with a young female principal and faculty of ten women teachers at Farida Balkhi Girls' School; all of these individuals are graduates of the Teacher Training Institute in Mazar Sharif and range from about 20 to 35 years of age. At present, Balkh lacks any local female teachers, and thus all of these educators must travel daily from their homes in Mazar. This city is only about fifteen miles distant, but the bus trip sometimes takes almost an hour.

The school presently contains some 500 girls in grades 1-11, and enrollment was said to be increasing each year. In fact, many girls from nearby villages (which only have facilities from grades 1 to 3) come to town and live with relatives so that they can continue their education. The number of students had dropped drastically a few years ago when a male principal came to this school, however; in this conservative community, many parents found this intolerable and withdrew their daughters. When this man was transferred later, many girls who had waited at home for four years subsequently returned, and thus the present 11th grade of 17 students is comparatively large. Next year the school will also contain a 12th grade.

In spite of an all-female staff, the attrition rate for girls who reach puberty is still considerable. "It's a waste--their families don't want them to be seen in public, and they just sit at home until they marry," said the principal. Other teachers bemoaned the fact that many girls of the town never attended school because their fathers do not seem to find value in female education at all. It was also mentioned, however, that one girl from Balkh had lived in Mazar with relatives, completed 12th grade at the girls' lycee there, and was presently a student at Kabul University where she resided in the university dormitory for provincial women. Another Balkh female was attending the Teacher Training Institute in Mazar and living in the women's dormitory there. Both of these exceptional individuals were expecting to return to Balkh and teach.

These educators' personal problems mostly concerned their transportation problems (especially in winter) and their salaries of approximately $25 per month which they considered to be

idiculously low. They enjoyed their work, however, and found heir students to be enthusiastic and better behaved than those n the girls' schools of Mazar. There was a general consensus hat women's health was the major problem in Balkh, and they uggested that nursing courses be locally established for the ducated girls of the town. These women thought that if viable ocal employment in the field of healthwork could be obtained, ore families would recognize the value of female education.

* * *

In Tashkargan (population: 36,000), another northern Afghan own considerably larger than Balkh, we also visited the local irls' school and spoke with the female principal and a few eachers. The school compound is large, and hung from the pine rees which surrounded the classroom building were numerous hadris (of both staff and students) blowing in the wind. With a student body of 935 (grades 1-12), the institution employs 17 female and 13 male teachers. Here again we found that many girls are taken out of school at puberty "to get married," and the 12th grade was composed of only nine students.

Both principal and teachers found the "dark thinking" of the community somewhat difficult to deal with, and they noted that many negative comments are received by females as they travel to and from school. "But slowly they're seeing the importance of education--even for girls--and we have more students than ever before," said the principal. A dynamic individual in her late twenties, last year this educator had been appointed by the Afghan Women's Organization in Kabul as a provincial representative in the national government's Loya Jirgah (General Assembly), and she seemed to be extremely active in community affairs.

This woman saw the establishment of a local branch of the Afghan Women's Organization as the most valuable means of reaching the women of Tashkargan and increasing their participation in the development of their community. Situated on the main paved road in northern Afghanistan, the town's bazaar caters to a number of tourists--both Afghan and foreign. Its women are presently involved in the production of a variety of handicrafts, and the principal saw that a branch of the organization would allow for the formation of women's cooperatives. "If we had an AWO here, I know the women would attend." In addition, it was mentioned that a kindergarten would benefit women who teach, and a number of new employment opportunities as staff members of the organization would be subsequently created for the educated women of Tashkargan. The principal had visited the AWO in Kabul to explore the possibility of the establishment of a branch and had also attended a few conferences in the capital, but she had received no decision from the organization.

It was felt by other teachers that more women should be

encouraged to enter the field of education, and one male instructor mentioned that "for the economics of Tashkargan" there was a great need for a local AFGA (Afghan Family Guidance Association) clinic. Positive winds of change certainly seem to be blowing in this community.

* * *

Three large girls' lycees were also visited in the provincial urban centers of Mazar Sharif, Kandahar, and Herat. At Sultan Razia Lycee in Mazar Sharif which has a teaching staff of 40 (31 females and 9 males), we spoke with the head teacher, the principal having recently taken leave to give birth to a baby. In discussing what factors are most necessary in keeping females in school in the upper grades, the head teacher said that she thought that the orientation of the girl's father and brothers was by far of most importance. She also felt that the influence and encouragement of teachers themselves was also crucial in causing females to desire additional education after 12th grade graduation. Many of the lycee's students want to attend Kabul University; more than 20 of their graduates are presently attending the institution in the capital and living in the university dormitory for provincial women. These women spend their vacations in Mazar, and the head teacher noted that many come to visit her at the lycee and mention that they plan to return to Mazar following graduation.

In the southern Afghan city of Kandahar we spoke with the principal and school psychologist at Lycee Zarghuna; a total of 70 girls were in the 12th grade and on the day of our visit they were meeting in special afternoon sessions to prepare for the coming comprehensive examination for admittance to Kabul University. The young school psychologist noted that the students indicated great interest in learning about various professions, and she had recently sponsored a "career day" at the school. She felt that more female educators should be aware of career opportunities which exist for women throughout the country, and suggested that conferences or short training courses should be held in this area.

This woman had taken a three-month course in school psychology, and students with a variety of difficulties--both family and school-related problems--consult her for guidance. She immediatel voiced a need of additional training in this subject and also mentioned, "I wish that I had access to reference materials in this area--magazines, books, anything."

The principal believed that literacy was the key to women's advancement, and she felt that more educated women should participate in the instruction of the government's literacy programs. She knew a few of women who were students in the courses being sponsored in Kandahar, and said that they were enjoying them. "They take pride in their penmanship--and we all know that a literate mother can raise her children much better.

At Lycee Meri in the western city of Herat, we were told by the principal that so many of the city's girls wanted to attend the institution that the school is overcrowded and "we had to turn many away who wanted to enroll at the beginning of this schoolyear." Luckily we had arrived at the lycee just as the teaching staff took their morning break; about twenty women soon assembled in the principal's office and discussed Afghan women's programs and problems with enthusiasm. The head teacher insisted that "we have to educate women to know what's theirs--to know their rights." Another teacher thought that "most women here turn to men for assistance all the time and hide behind them--they're afraid to do anything by themselves." There was general agreement that educated females should work to help those who lacked such. They suggested that "local projects for local products" which traditionally involve women should be established in each region of the country--in both urban and rural settings. For example, "Here in Herat many women are expert rug weavers, and a lot of young girls want to learn too." Someone else suggested candy-making. It was mentioned that women would participate in large numbers if they know that economic gain was involved; seemingly those few who attend the local branch of the AWO do not receive enough financial return for their efforts. Some teachers said that seminars about women's rights ("or other types of classes") could be conducted as the women worked, and one thought that regional conferences of, for example, rug weavers could even be established.

* * *

It should also be noted that some night schools which are conducted in boys' lycees are attended by a few married women who want to obtain 12th grade diplomas in a few of the country's large provincial urban centers. The principal of Lycee Bakhtar in Mazar Sharif told us that male relatives accompany the seven women students to the door of the school compound and return to pick them up when their evening coeducational classes are finished.

* * *

In addition, we interviewed the male directors of the Teacher Training Institutes for primary school teachers in Mazar Sharif, Kandahar, and Herat. Each mentioned that their respective local settings were conservative in comparison to the atmosphere of Kabul with respect to female educational participation, but all three administrators stressed that more provincial women should be encouraged to enter the profession of education, and they were attempting to do so. Each institute has at least one woman on the staff; in Mazar, three female graduates of Kabul University who are natives of the provincial center teach general educational methods and psychology, in Kandahar one woman teaches home economics, and in Herat one graduate of Kabul University is a science education instructor. I spoke with the female teachers in Mazar, and they were very pleased with their employment situation and their coeducational classes.

Some 150 female students in Mazar compose 20 percent of the student body, and a women's dormitory draws 43 females from six of the country's northern provinces. In Herat, however, all of the 107 female students (15% of the student body) are from the urban center itself. A previous director had seemingly attempted to set up a female dormitory without permission of the authorities in Kabul, and he was subsequently fired. In Kandahar, only 19 females (or 5% of the total enrollment) attend, all from the city itself. The directors of the institutes in Herat and Kandahar noted that women teachers have no permission to teach anywhere except within their urban areas. In recent years, female enrollment has increased in each of these Teacher Training Institutes, however, and there are plans to construct women's dormitories in both Herat and Kandahar in the next few years.

* * *

Only in the capital city of Kabul do lycee facilities for female vocational education exist. In May I visited Jamouriat (Republican) Girls' Lycee in the New City of Kabul and talked with members of a vocational education team sponsored by CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) from Red River Community College in Winnipeg. These women were in the process of setting up a new curriculum for the school which has more than 500 students and 30 Afghan female instructors. The curriculum is largely oriented towards business education and includes courses in typing (Farsi and English), accounting, office procedure, government administration, etc. Graduates of the lycee seem to be easily able to find employment in government offices in Kabul with the assistance of the Central Statistics Office placement services. An Afghan male translator who was present thought that skilled female office workers perhaps had better employment opportunities than males. The team hopes to be able to expand their program to also include some girls' lycees in the country's major provincial centers in the future. They are also planning to sponsor a few of the school's instructors in additional business education training in Canada.

* * *

Associated with the National Directorate of Adult Education and with assistance from the United Nations, classes in non-formal education for Afghan women are being conducted in small communities located in five regions of the country (Kabul, Baghlan, Kandahar, Nangarhar, and Herat). Following the revolution this project has been placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Social Affairs. Mrs. Doraiswami, a member of the UNESCO team, described the program as an approach to functional literacy which also involves training for the women in nutrition, first aid, family planning, sewing, and child care. Local females who have at least an 8th grade education are employed as instructors, and classes meet for a few hours each morning for a period of nine

months. Some communities have donated classroom facilities for the women's courses, and it is hoped that the program will expand in the future to also encompass additional regions of the nation.

* * *

In conversations with Afghan individuals--both females and males--in a variety of contexts I asked them what they felt were the factors involved in why more females were not enrolled in schools and why the attrition rate is so high especially in the upper grades; similarly, it was also asked what their thoughts were as to why more women are not presently employed in the public sphere. Responses varied greatly, and range from basic absence of facilities to more nebulous cultural constraints. These are included in Table 35. Many factors were thought to pertain to both female education and female employment. It is important to note that each response listed was obtained from <u>both</u> females and males at least once.

WOMEN AND HEALTH-RELATED ACTIVITIES:

There is a desperate need to improve the health of Afghanistan's populace, and an increase in trained female health personnel is a basic requirement. At present, Afghan women are participating in a number of health-related programs--as both contributors and beneficiaries.

At the Ministry of Health in April I spoke with the Director of Nursing, Mariam Shahnawaz. In discussing nursing in Afghanistan, she hoped that its status could be raised and that more dedicated females would be thus encouraged to enter the profession. At present more than 1200 nurses exist in the country; approximately two-thirds are females, most of whom are employed in the capital city of Kabul. Among the educated sector of the society, there exists a stereotype of nursing as employment which a female undertakes "if she isn't able to succeed in anything else;" others believe that nurses have "low morals" due to their contact with men and their night duty assignments. The director hoped that these false impressions would be altered when in the future a course of study leading to a BA is established in affiliation with Kabul University. In addition, it was thought that a nurse with a degree would receive more respect from physicians with whom she works. Seven female nurses are presently studying for their degrees at the University of Nebraska/Omaha, and when they return it is planned that they will be instructors in the university-affiliated program in Kabul. "Nurses should be allowed to teach too--not only doctors."

In addition, the director noted that female nurses must be able to communicate effectively in health programs involving uneducated women. Stressing that although Afghan women in

TABLE 35: FACTORS WHICH LIMIT FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC SPHERE EMPLOYMENT

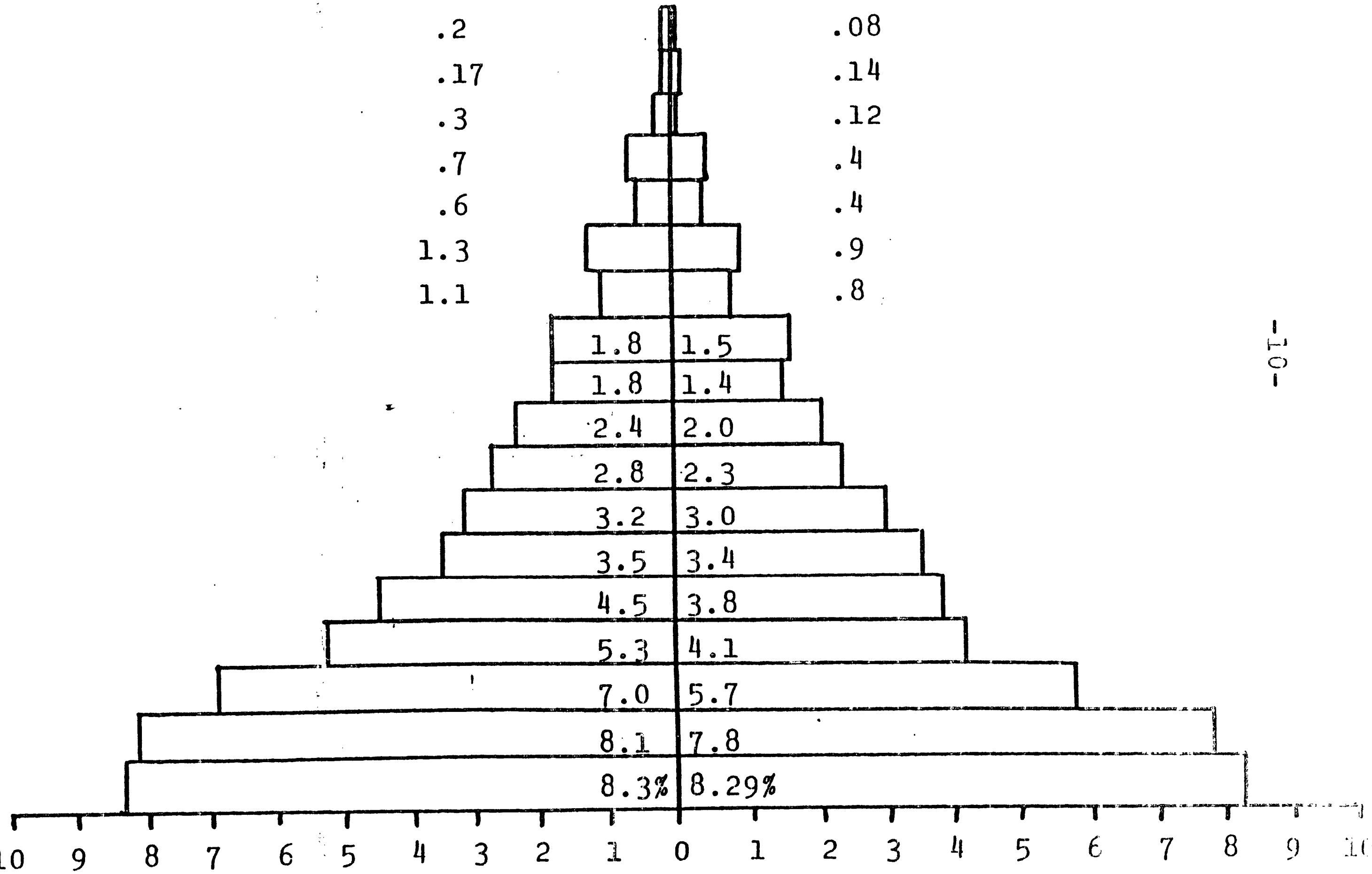
REASONS WHY GIRLS ARE NOT ENROLLED IN SCHOOL/WHY THEY DROP OUT:	REASONS WHY MORE WOMEN ARE NOT EMPLOYED IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE:
1. economic situation of nation	1. economic situation of nation
2. no girls' school nearby	2. jobs not available for women
3. transportation facilities lacking (roads, buses, etc.)	3. communication difficulties (people are unaware of job opportunities which exist for women)
4. teachers unskilled	4. no salary incentives
5. curriculum poor	5. economic situation of family (woman must do housework, etc.)
6. no employment opportunities following education	6. no childcare facilities
7. economic situation of family (girl must work at home)	
8. economic situation of family (no money for school supplies)	

*both female education and employment:

1. early marriage
2. no moral support for female from family, friends
3. "the men"
4. no permission from relatives (especially father, husband, brother)
5. "wrong interpretation of Islam"
6. fear of negative gossip of community
7. treatment of female on public streets
8. undesirable contact with strange males (teachers, office workers, etc.)
9. "males honor the females in their family by making life easy for them"
10. general distrust of females by males
11. "a female can't learn/is incapable of work other than household tasks"
12. "it's a sin"
13. "women's place is in the home"
14. socialization of female to be passive, subservient
15. no dedication or self-sacrifice on the part of the female
16. no creativity on the part of the female

TABLE 4: AGE/SEX PYRAMID AND SEX RATIOS FOR TOTAL SETTLED POPULATION OF AFGHANISTAN 1972-1973

SEX RATIO (All Ages: 115.6)	AGE GROUPINGS IN YEARS	MALE	FEMALE
271.1	85+	.2	.08
128.9	80-84	.17	.14
222.3	75-79	.3	.12
176.5	70-74	.7	.4
160.9	65-69	.6	.4
139.3	60-64	1.3	.9
143.0	55-59	1.1	.8
120.2	50-54	1.8	1.5
128.2	45-49	1.8	1.4
121.6	40-44	2.4	2.0
120.9	35-39	2.8	2.3
108.3	30-34	3.2	3.0
102.4	25-29	3.5	3.4
117.2	20-24	4.5	3.8
129.3	15-19	5.3	4.1
123.0	10-14	7.0	5.7
104.3	5-9	8.1	7.8
100.7	0-4	8.3%	8.29%



(Source: Afghan Demographic Studies 1975; as included in UNICEF 1977)

conservative contexts often wield much power within their family units, she thought that an "incorrect interpretation of religion" was a major cause of low female participation in activities of the public sphere. "Women too are just as guilty of backward thinking; we must reach them, tactfully broach the subject of women's rights, and introduce acceptance of new roles for women."

Among nurses presently employed, there exists a high rate of absenteeism due to undesirable night duty and insufficient child-care facilities. Many trained nurses are forced to cease their work when they marry. "We must provide these women with moral support and more suitable salary incentives so that they continue to practice."

Seeming[l]y the Afghan Women's Organization had sometimes failed to invite representatives from the nursing profession to their conferences. The director thought that future seminars and conferences for women who are involved not only in nursing but in a variety of professions throughout Islamic countries would be valuable and would provide an opportunity to discuss not only their problems but also their achievements.

* * *

In addition to training facilities for nurses in Kabul, a post-basic school is also active in the capital city. This is under the direction of two nurses from Care-Medico, and includes training in hospital administration, public health nursing, and other subjects. Approximately ten female nurses are presently participating, and they hope to graduate in October of this year.

* * *

In the urban provincial centers of Kandahar, Herat, and Jalalabad, schools for nurse-midwives (qabila) are active. When in Kandahar we interviewed the director of the local school, a woman whose husband is a physician in the city. and found her optimism refreshing. Established one and one half years ago, the institution accepts girls who have at least completed the 9th grade and at present almost 45 students are enrolled in two classes. Their education is free of charge, and all of these females are from the urban center of Kandahar itself. A dormitory is scheduled to be built in the vicinity of the city's new hospital which is being funded by the Chinese, and the director is certain that these new facilities will encourage more girls to attend--even from rural regions of the province. "Girls wouldn't want to come to the city and live with relatives, but they would be willing to live in a dormitory."

Students are recruited from Kandahar's public girls' schools, and we were shown some of the posters they used in their recent publicity program. "Some of the girls are rich, others are poor--

some are from conservative families and they come to school in chadri." Uniforms are made from cloth which is produced in the country's Nasagi textile factories, and each class is scheduled to wear a different color; black, red, and green checked material is utilized which are the colors of the Afghan flag.

Unfortunately recruitment seems to be more difficult than when the school was first established, and the second class of 12 is much smaller than the initial class of 31. No students have graduated to date, and perhaps the community is waiting to discover what type of employment these nurse-midwives will eventually obtain.

The director was of the belief that most needed by the nation was additional female health personnel; especially additional training for women in the area of health education was seen to be necessary. It was noted that in a conservative setting such as Kandahar, most women are unable to be examined and treated by male health personnel and, indeed, many females are unable to enter the public sphere to seek health care. "We will have to go to them..."

In Herat the director of the nurse-midwifery school also thought that when the new hospital of the city (which is being built with aid from Saudi Arabia) is finished, additional girls will become interested in this health profession. This school had been in existence for about two years and, similar to the situation in Kandahar, the second class of five was much smaller than the previous year's of 27. "We're still recruiting though--we advertise in the newspaper, on the radio, and we also visit each school in Herat and explain our program." Graduates can expect to receive the equivalent of $25-$40 as monthly salaries.

* * *

In the capital city of Kabul, I explored the program of the Auxiliary Nurse-Midwife (ANM) School which is involved in the training of 150 provincial girls from many regions of the country. At least a 6th grade education is required for these students who, following their 18-month training course, are to return to work in Basic Health Centers near their home communities. Monthly salaries for their graduates are about 800 afghanis ($20). Lynette Russell, who is an advisor at the school under the auspices of the University of California/Santa Cruz (contract USAID), noted that these young women, whose ages range from 13 to 21, are carefully supervised in their modern dormitory school; usually a male relative accompanies each of them to the institution from their home communities when they first enroll, and these males are subsequently the only ones who can obtain permission to withdraw them for visits home on vacations. Their youth causes some difficulties when they return home following graduation to instruct women who are often much older than themselves in modern

health practices, but they are energetic individuals and, if the doctor at the Basic Health Center lends his support, they can be very successful.

She also mentioned that it was becoming more difficult to recruit students from the provinces and, rather than assume that the supply of interested and educated females had been so quickly exhausted, she suggested that perhaps an improved publicity program for the health professions needed to be developed.

At that time five instructors of the school's staff of 20 females were participating in an advanced training program in Santa Cruz, and since our conversation, another group of women has left for similar study.

* * *

Management Sciences for Health (MSH), a USAID contract team which is based in the Ministry of Public Health, is involved in a variety of projects and a few of these specifically concern women. One of the most impressive of these is the dai (traditional midwife) training program which is presently being conducted in a number of regions of the country. Traditional midwives are skilled health practitioners who have a large female clientele; thus the training of these women in basic hygiene, sterilization techniques, and a number of other aspects of modern medicine holds great potential for the improvement of their communities' health. Courses for dais are five weeks in length, and the participants are supplied with a per diem which is the equivalent of a few dollars; these activities have been met with considerable enthusiasm, and to date approximately 100 women have graduated from such classes.

When I spoke with Dr. Sherdel, Director of Balkh Hospital, he described how the training course had been conducted in his region. After he and the MSH field team had spoken with community leaders and obtained their permission, some 13 dais from Balkh itself had been recruited along with 13 traditional midwives from outlying areas. These women were able to reside in special dormitory facilities which had been established near the hospital for the duration of their training. Dr. Sherdel stressed that the MSH team had created excellent rapport with the dais; not violating their traditional beliefs, they were able to successfuly incorporate basics of modern medicine into their repertoire.

One of the most capable of these women from Balkh along with two chosen from a similar training program in Girishk had been selected to teach a similar group of traditional midwives in Shakardara, a community located 15 miles north of Kabul. While serving as trainers, these provincial women reside at the Auxiliary Nurse-Midwife (ANM) School in the capital city and commute daily to the training site along with other members of

.SH team. When I went to Shakardara to observe the classes
ssion, Maria Gobar Mohseny, the program's director, explained
she trained a cadre of female 12th-grade graduates to also
.cipate as part of the training team in addition to the
instructors who are dais themselves. A nurse-midwife (gabila)
assists, and thus completes this fascinating team of
.tional and modern females. At Shakardara I was extremely
ssed with the seriousness with which the 20 middle-aged
nts, none of whom are literate, participated in role-plays
lass discussion. I find this to be one of the most innovative
ams for women presently being conducted in Afghanistan, and
ully the project will be expanded to the national level
in the next few years.

In addition, I also spoke with Maria about Afghan women in
lopment in general, and she was optimistic that in the future
rtunities for their participation in this area will increase.
importance of women's legal rights in the improvement of
r status was stressed, and it was thought that training
rams for them in community development and health education
most needed in Afghanistan.

Another MSH activity involving traditional midwives is the
Visiting Project. Undertaken in the southern town of
shk, a general assessment of the community's health was
eved and referrals were also made to the local Basic Health
er. Kathy LeSar, a member of the team who was closely
lved in this project, explained the value in utilizing female
dworkers for home visits in order to establish necessary
act with secluded women. Five dais who had previously
icipated in the training program described above were
ned by male sanitarians in three weeks of classes. The use
ome visiting referral forms which employed simple symbols
er than script was taught, and with practice the nonliterate
were easily able to master the recording system. During
weeks of fieldwork in Girishk the women successfully
.ted 635 homes, and subsequently the patient load at the
.c Health Center increased by 25 percent. The success of
se traditional midwives' activities illustrates their valuable
in establishing viable contact with more secluded women
in their community.

A small health education materials committee of women has
ently been formed which contains both Afghan and foreign
bers of the MSH team, the Auxiliary Nurse-Midwife School
f, and CARE-MEDICO. One aspect of their work deals with the
elopment of visual aids to be utilized specifically in health
cation programs for women. During my conversation with Kathy
ar (MSH), it was mentioned that a training course for Afghan
en in the preparation of such materials would be of much value.

* * *

Established in 1968, the Afghan Family Guidance Association (AFGA) has at present 41 clinics functioning throughout the country; it is funded in part by the International Planned Parenthood Foundation and USAID. Although prior to the revolution AFGA was affiliated with the Ministry of Public Health, it is presently under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Affairs. During recent fieldwork, my counterpart and I visited three of their provincial clinics in Mazar Sharif, Kandahar, and Herat.

In Mazar Sharif we spoke with the AFGA male physician and female nurse-midwife (qabila), and it was mentioned that if women can become more actively involved in the development of their nation, "Afghanistan will advance like other countries." They were hoping to expand their program into the rural regions of the province, but at that time the clinic had only one car which was in poor condition; most of their clients come from the city itself.

In Kandahar the AFGA physician is female; a native of the city, both she and her husband attended Kabul University and then had returned to Kandahar within the last year to work. Concerning health problems of the area, it was stated that females seem to mostly encounter perinatal difficulties, while very common for males were injuries incurred from fighting. This physician believed that central to women's advancement in Afghanistan was "understanding through literacy--when women are literate they can accept other changes of all kinds easier." A male physician working in the adjoining Mother and Child Health (MCH) clinic thought that the presence of a female head nurse in the Kandahar hospital would increase the status of the profession locally, encourage more dedicated females to enter nursing, and subsequently lead to better health of women in the area--he found the health status of Kandahar females to be in desperate need of improvement. Both physicians and two of the four family guides who were working in the busy clinics on the morning of our interview also noted that they were looking forward to the establishment of a dai training program which was scheduled to begin in Kandahar in the near future.

Although no physician was present at the Herat AFGA clinic, we found the nurse-midwife (qabila) who directs the local activities of the association to be one of the most active and enthusiastic women encountered in our fieldwork. It was related how she and the clinic's four family guides publicize their work throughout the community by making the usual home visits and also by visiting the city's public baths and speaking with the women. "We're always sure to speak in simple language so that all will understand, and we even quote from the Quran." This dedicated woman had two sisters who were also nurse-midwives, and said that their father's influence had been mainly responsible for their professional involvement; looking towards the future, she wanted her son to be a doctor and her daughter to be a qabila

like herself. Literacy of females was thought to be the key to increasing their participation in the development process. In addition, she said, "I think a lot about the economic situation of people around here; women should be able to bring more money into their homes. For example, many women in Herat weave rugs, and other want to learn; these women should teach formal courses and make more money for themselves and their families than they do now." All of the clinic personnel felt that their achievements had somehow been forgotten by the authorities in Kabul and were extremely interested in participating in advanced courses in such subjects as new family planning publicity techniques and nutrition which would help their work in Herat.

OTHER PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES:

CARE-MEDICO has been interested in the establishment of women's programs in association with the government's Rural Development Department for the past few years. Under the excellent guidance of Belqees Shah, they have carried out extensive fieldwork in Ghorband (Parwan province) north of Kabul concerning a rural potable water project and a related rural women's development program. Just recently they have obtained permission to conduct an educational program dealing with potable water utilization in the girls' schools of the region and both Belqees Shah and her counterpart, Julia Karet-Ward, are looking forward to beginning their classes.

In addition, following the revolution, CARE-MEDICO has been in communication with the [illegible] of Social Affairs concerning their future involvement in a pilot training program for female 12th-grade graduates from the provinces in women's rural development activities. Courses would cover a variety of topics--health, nutrition, home economics, etc. To be trained initially in Kabul and the vicinity, these females would return to their provinces where they will instruct females with 9th grade education, who in turn would instruct females with 6th grade education. With such an approach it is hoped that a cadre of female rural development workers will be established throughout the country. Although exact details of the program are not established to date, with CARE-MEDICO's expert assistance in its implementation, this approach holds much promise for reaching Afghanistan's rural women.

* * *

The Rural Development Department (RDD), a government agency which prior to the revolution was associated with the Office of the Presidency, is attempting an integrated approach towards the development of the country's rural areas. One of its sub-offices is involved in the establishment of programs specifically pertaining to rural women in home economics and related topics, and

at present a few female [illegible] workers are working in
the field in the [illegible] region. Just recently, three males and
one female from [illegible] have been enrolled in a training program in
Iran with USAID assistance: the female participant is being
trained in the planning, programming, and management of rural
women's development projects.

In addition, the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization has
sent four women to work in the Ministry of Agriculture to assist
with projects relating to women, and the equivalent of 4-H
programs which involve both males and females may be established
in various rural communities.

While in the northern town of Tashkurgan, we visited the
recently established Afghanistan Dairy Products Project which had
previously been active in Baghlan: associated with the Ministry of
Agriculture, this project is assisted by a Swiss development team
Middlemen visit various households in the area, purchase milk
from both males and females for 7 _afghanis_ (approximately 20¢)
per liter, and bring it to the small dairy factory in town. The
cheeses and other dairy products made in Tashkurgan by the Swiss
team members along with a small staff of Afghan males are later
transported to Kabul and marketed from a small outlet in the
New City. This interesting project is mentioned here because of
its involvement of Afghan women who are often the dairy workers
of their households.

* * *

As is the case with [illegible] shops, another
government-affiliated establishment in Kabul's New City also
depends upon the household activities of Afghan women. This is
the Handicrafts Emporium of the Ministry of Commerce's Handicraf
Development Center. This huge gift shop is filled with a
kaleidoscopic array of embroideries, knitwear, and other article
Although buyers travel throughout the country to obtain handicra
for both local sale and export, on a recent visit to the Emporiu
I was told that many women in the Kabul vicinity also bring the
handicrafts directly to the establishment to sell; they receive
20 percent of the final market price of the articles they
produce, which is similar to their remuneration from private
shopkeepers.

GENERAL COMMENT:

Needless to say, a variety of difficulties are encountered
by the individuals who are involved in the projects relating to
Afghan women which have been briefly described above. Some
general problems and criticisms which have been mentioned
repeatedly in recent interviews are listed below: it should be
noted that certainly not all of these are specific to women's
programs per se but are also dilemmas common to the complex pro
of development.

1. low priority given to women's programs by both the Afghan government and foreign funding agencies

2. "elite" orientation of individuals involved in project

3. conservative orientation of community where program is being implemented

4. conferences and seminars become "social" events with no concrete results

5. "target" population limited to urban populace

6. poor communications between program's central office and provincial branches
   a. physical distance
   b. lack of understanding of respective problems
   c. different priorities, orientations, lifestyles
   d. rivalry
   e. neglect

7. program duplication/rivalry between programs/ organizations

8. "paternalistic" attitude of foreign funding agencies and personnel

9. "do-it-ourselves" attitude of government agencies and personnel in program implementation with respect to foreign funding

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE TRAINING PROJECTS

It is clearly evident from recent fieldwork that many Afghans of both sexes not only in the capital of Kabul but also in provincial areas are enthusiastic about increasing the ability of women to take part in the socioeconomic development of their country.

The Near Eastern Regional Training Project for Women which is to be sponsored by USAID will furnish the opportunity for a number of Afghan women to do so through their participation in both training courses and seminars.

A number of diverse areas of needed training for females in Afghanistan have been suggested:

EDUCATION-RELATED:

teaching of literacy
non-formal education

kindergarten teacher-training
creative teaching techniques
home economics
vocational education
business education

educational administration

psychology
educational psychology
guidance/counselling

HEALTH-RELATED:

health education
public health
nutrition
nursing
post-basic nursing
hospital/clinic administration

OTHER:

marketing
business administration
management techniques

social work
community development
rural development
program planning/administration

communications
radio communications
television communications

social science research techniques

leadership training

By far most frequently mentioned as being of utmost importance has been training which relates to either education or health--such as teaching of literacy and health education--and I similarly tend to consider these of top priority in the Afghan context. All of the topics listed above have found positive support from respondents, however, and I believe that both training programs and seminars in any of these suggested areas will find eager female participants who subsequently will be able to contribute more effectively to their nation's process of development.

* * *

A major source for the recruitment of project participants i the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization; many of the activitie of this group can be fostered when women they select take part ir this pilot project. Recent interest has been exhibited by ADWO in the intensification of a variety of female economic activities throughout the country, and their staff is attempting to develop more extensive markets for the articles the women produce. Thus training for staff members from both Kabul and the provincial branches in business administration and marketing is extremely relevant.

Courses in management techniques, communications, program planning/administration, and leadership training are also of val for females involved in the organization. Advanced education in

these spheres not only will aid in the improvement of functioning within the women's group itself, but also will foster the receptivity of their programs by communities in which the organization is active. As it establishes additional branches in provincial areas, advanced training in the above subjects will be especially valuable.

Kindergarten teachers, teachers of literacy, and social workers who are presently employed in AWDO can also profit from participation in the project, as can those women who are involved in the teaching of home economics and in their vocational training programs.

Many of these prospective participants have graduated from Kabul University, and all of them have achieved a 12th-grade education. If involved in long-term training, those participants with college degrees could pursue post-graduate study in their respective area of concentration. It must be noted, however, that many qualified participants are limited in their command of English. In addition, although Arabic is spoken in a number of other participating countries included in the Near Eastern region of USAID, this language is not spoken in Afghanistan. In-country training and seminars could involve a larger number of participants.

The Afghan Democratic Women's Organization would be capable of serving as general coordinator for the training program in Afghanistan.

* * *

In addition to the AWDO as a recruitment source, the National Directorate of Adult Education could propose female candidates for advanced training in literacy instruction/non-formal education. The Kabul University Research Center (KURC) is an additional source of possible candidates in the area of non-formal education/social science research. With the assistance of Dr. Karen Michaelson, an anthropologist presently working with the center, KURC plans to be involved in this area in the future and could profit from the training a female staff member who will be participating in their program.

In the area of vocational education/business education, the possibility of the involvement of some of the instructors of Jamouriat High School in coordination with CIDA should also be considered. Women interested in educational administration could be located through communication with the Ministries of Education and Higher Education.

* * *

In many of the larger cities, female guidance counsellors are employed, and short-term training for these women would be of great value, as also would be their participation in seminars. Vocational guidance is becoming more important each year for Afghan females

TABLE 5: MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE BY SEX AND URBAN/RURAL RESIDENCE

	Male	Female
Rural	26.2 years	17.8 years
Urban	26.7 years	19.5 years

Women in urban areas tend to marry at a somewhat older age than do their rural counterparts, but a substantial age difference between males and females still persists; the necessity on the part of males to accumulate mahr (bride price or payment) is one factor which attributes to their older ages at marriage.

Partially due to this older age at marriage for Afghan men, the rate of widowhood for females is three times as high as is the case for males; 13.2% of women fifteen years of age and over are widowed as compared to 4.5% of men of the same age group (Spitler and Frank 1977:26). Also involved is the fact that remarriage is more feasible for men than it is for women in Afghan society in spite of the practice of the levirate, a custom in which a widow may marry a brother or other male relative of her deceased husband. The majority of widows do not remarry and take up residence with relatives, frequently with their married sons or daughters.

Dissolution of marriage is negatively sanctioned, and the reported rate of divorce is extremely low; only 0.1% of the total population was recorded as being divorced in the Afghan Demographic Studies survey (1975:62).

Female heads of household in Afghanistan appear to be extremely rare, as was indicated in an analysis of a sub-sample of both urban and rural households (N=553 and 561 respectively) included in the ADS survey (Hunte 1975). I found that only 6 female heads of household (1.1%) were reported for the urban sample in the capital city of Kabul. All of these women were widowed, their ages ranged from 24 to 46 years, and they resided with their unmarried offspring. Four of these women reported no economic activity whatsoever, one was a clerk at a government ministry, and another served as a laundress to support her family. In the rural sample of 561 households from seven northern provinces of the country only 7 female heads of household existed (1.2%). All were widowed, ranged from 27 to 60 years of age, and each was engaged in some type of economic activity. Two were rug weavers; the other five women worked as laundress, wool carder, wheat thrasher, cotton picker, and livestock raiser.

as their employment opportunities increase. These counsellors could be encouraged to form general career clubs, clubs for future nurses and future teachers, etc., within their lycees. Perhaps travelling teams of women could be organized who would visit various girls' schools to encourage participation of students in these activities and brief both faculties and students about career opportunities which exist for women throughout the nation. In addition, seminars held for lycee guidance counsellors to discuss their students' psychological problems relating to both education and family matters could be arranged.

* * *

Additional health-related training for Afghan women is crucial- especially in the areas of health education and public health. ADWO social workers would profit from short-term training, as also would AFGA employees from both Kabul and the provinces. Short seminars for women involved in the country's nurse-midwifery and auxiliary nurse-midwifery schools in communications and recruitment techniques could also be organized. Long-term training in any of the health-realted areas listed on Page 118 could also be offered to more female nurses in coordination with present USAID activities in this area.

* * *

The ADWO is planning to intensify its work in provincial urban centers and rural areas, and the related training areas of community development and rural development are of special import[illegible] for these women. In coordination with CARE-MEDICO, participants in both long-term and short-term training could be selected and seminars organized. The establishment of cooperatives for provincial women should be encouraged, and local females who had received some formal education could be employed as active team members. A variety of traditional female economic undertakings hold promise for such activity. Some of these are:

<u>AGRICULTURE, FOOD PRODUCTION, AND RELATED</u>:

dairying
poultry raising
vegetable gardening

vegetable preserving/drying/packaging
fruit preserving/drying/packaging
nut preparation/packaging

candy making
pickle preparation
spice preparation
soap making

HANDICRAFTS:

rug weaving
silkworm raising/silk production

tailoring
embroidery
knitting
etc.

Production could be oriented towards both home use and marketing. Some of these activities are regionally specific, and programs would have to be tailor-made for each community. Instruction for these women in health care, nutrition, and a variety of other subjects could also be induced. Important for the success of these co-operatives would be not only sensitive planning and the rapport established with the local women, but also the amount of ecoromic gain able to be received by the participants.

* * *

Through the presentation of both quantitative and qualitative data, I have attempted to present a general description of Afghan women in a variety of settings. Urban and rural, literate and non-literate, they possess many unrealized talents which are crucial for the socioeconomic development of Afghanistan, and continuing efforts must be made to foster their participation in this complex process.

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Polygynous unions do occur in Afghan society. In the above ADS subsample it was found that among the 553 urban households 677 males were married at the time of the survey; 34 (5.0%) of these men had more than one wife. Among the 561 rural households 689 males were married, and 32 (4.6%) of these men had plural wives. In other words, 68 females or 9.6% of the urban women married at the time of the survey had co-wives while 64 females or 8.9% of the rural women were in similar marital situations (Hunte 1975).

C. HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND FAMILY STRUCTURE:

The average number of persons per household for the nation as a whole is 6.23; the urban average is 6.60 while for rural regions a figure of 6.17 exists. The larger household size found in urban areas has been attributed to migration of individuals from rural regions who take up residence in the households of relatives (Afghan Demographic Studies 1975:11).

A large variety of family structures are found to exist in both urban and rural households of Afghanistan. Table 6 presents a summary of household distribution by type of family structure and urban/rural setting for a sub-sample of households interviewed in the ADS survey (Hunte 1975). In general, urban/rural distribution of types of family structure does not vary radically.

TABLE 6: DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE OF FAMILY STRUCTURE

STRUCTURAL TYPES	URBAN		RURAL		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
NUCLEAR VARIATIONS (marital dyad with or without offspring)	289	52.3	248	44.2	537	48.2
EXTENDED VARIATIONS						
a. nuclear unit plus other unmarried relatives	45	8.1	43	7.7	88	7.9
b. generational extended, collateral extended, or combination	170	30.7	217	38.7	387	34.7
OTHER (fragmentary units, etc.)	49	8.9	53	9.4	102	9.2
TOTAL	553	100.0	561	100.0	1114	100.0

There is, however, a greater representation of nuclear units in the urban context. In addition, family units which are extended in nature are more prevalent in rural areas, although they also exist in large proportions in the urban setting; generationally extended units contain two or more generations of kinsmen and their spouses while collateral extended units contain two or more siblings and their spouses. Afghan society being patrilineal and patrilocal in orientation, it is quite common for sons to continue to reside in their fathers' households following marriage, and also for two brothers and their spouses to live in one household. With respect to the subject of this report, more than one adult female resides in most extended units which holds implications for a variety of family role relations, one of the most crucial concerning the division of female labor within the household.

There is a greater probability that newly married females and those who have been married for quite a number of years will live in extended family units. Also utilizing a small sub-sample from ADS survey data, illustrated in Table 7 is the proportional concentration of couples in nuclear and extended families according to marriage duration and urban/rural residence (Hunte 1975).

TABLE 7: PROPORTIONAL CONCENTRATION OF COUPLES IN NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILY UNITS BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE AND URBAN/RURAL RESIDENCE

	DURATION OF MARRIAGE IN YEARS						ALL
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25+	DURATIONS
URBAN UNITS:							
Nuclear Family	16.6%	49.5%	57.0%	67.7%	65.0%	38.2%	46.1%
Extended Family	83.4%	50.5%	43.0%	32.3%	35.0%	61.8%	53.9%
# of Couples	90	103	107	62	60	170	592
RURAL UNITS:							
Nuclear Family	14.3%	22.1%	53.1%	52.3%	63.3%	21.0%	34.2%
Extended Family	85.7%	77.9%	46.9%	47.7%	36.7%	79.0%	65.8%
# of Couples	105	86	98	86	79	195	649

A somewhat similar pattern exists in both urban and rural settings. The proportion of couples in nuclear units begins quite low (16.6% urban and 14.3% rural) but continually enlarges with increase in duration of marriage; in latter categories of duration of marriage the proportion again decreases. In contrast, the proportion of couples in extended units begins quite high (83.4% urban and 85.7% rural) and then continually declines with increase in duration of marriage. In latter categories the proportion again increases. This is a phenomenon of the development cycle of the family. Young couples live more frequently in extended units than in nuclear units shortly after marriage, and later many break away to form independent nuclear families. It appears that this process of fission occurs earlier in urban areas than in rural areas. As old age approaches, the extended family unit gains in popularity again, and its proportion increases.

D. <u>FERTILITY</u>:

Afghan women exhibit quite high fertility. Afghan Demographic Studies estimated a crude birth rate of 43 per 1000 (urban=37.7; rural=43.9), but suggested that this was possibly an underestimate (1975:33); many infants die shortly after delivery and thus many births, especially those of females, may not have been reported. In a review of ADS data, Spitler and Frank estimate the crude birth rate to be a higher figure of 50 per 1000 (1977:29). The recent World Bank report set forth an estimate of 51.4 (1978:38) and Trussell and McWilliams, also employing ADS data, suggest a crude birth rate of 52 per 1000 (1978:6).

Age-specific fertility rates recently compiled by Spitler and Frank (1977:8) are included in Table 8. The apex of Afghan women's fertility occurs when they are 25-29 years of age, but neighboring age groups also exhibit high figures; both early marriage and a correspondingly extended reproductive career play a major rôle in the society's high fertility. Concerning the total fertility rate of Afghan females, Afghan Demographic Studies (1975:40) found that on an average a woman gives birth to 6.9 live infants during her reproductive career (urban=5.9; rural=7.1). Later publications have set forth a higher figure of approximately 8 live births (Spitler and Frank 1977:9; World Bank 1978:38), and Trussell and McWilliams estimate an even higher figure of 8.5 as a total fertility rate (1978:6).

Such statistics suggest that the energy of many women in Afghanistan is spent in childbearing and childrearing, and in many cases these activities seem to preclude any economic pursuits outside of their households.

TABLE 8: AGE-SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES FOR THE SETTLED POPULATION OF AFGHANISTAN 1972-1973 (number of live births per 1000 women per year)

	Age of Woman						
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Fertility Rate	136.9	314.9	345.7	292.5	237.2	142.0	79.2

E. MORTALITY:

Similar to its high fertility levels, the population of Afghanistan also experiences exceedingly high mortality rates. The crude death rate indicated by the 1972-1973 ADS survey was 21 per 1000 with urban areas exhibiting considerably lower mortality than rural regions. It was also found that female mortality was higher than that of males, and this has been attributed to possible preferential treatment of male offspring during childhood along with a high maternal mortality rate of 70 maternal deaths per 10,000 live births yearly (Kerr 1977:68). These statistics may reflect an underreporting of deaths, however, and more recent estimates of Afghanistan's crude death rates are even higher; the World Bank report cites a figure of 30.7 per thousand (1978:37) and Spitler and Frank estimate a crude death rate of 32 (1977:29).

The Afghan infant mortality rate is striking and, indeed, at an adjusted ADS rate of 269.4 per thousand it is one of the highest reported internationally. Utilizing ADS data, the World Bank (1978:37) has compiled the following table which illustrates the prevalence of mortality among the younger sectors of the Afghan populace:

TABLE 9: THE AGE STRUCTURE OF MORTALITY IN AFGHANISTAN 1972-1973

Age Group	Percent of All Deaths
0-1	37.9
1-4	15.5
5-14	8.2
15+ years	38.4
	100.0

The low life expectancy of 34.6 years was obtained from the ADS survey. Upon review of this data Spitler and Frank (1977:29) have estimated a life expectancy of 34 years for males and 36 years for females at birth; based upon existing information they find sex differentials in this area difficult to assess as ages increase, however. In contrast, Trussell and McWilliams concentrate on urban/rural mortality differentials and find an urban life expectancy of 47 years as compared with one of only 36 years in rural regions; 2/3 of a cohort in urban areas survives to the age of 30 while only 2/3 of a cohort in rural regions survives to the age of 5 (1978:9). In their recent report the following life tables appeared:

TABLE 10: ESTIMATED LIFE TABLES FOR AFGHANISTAN 1972-1974

RURAL		URBAN	
Age	ℓ_x	Age	ℓ_x
0	1.000	0	1.000
5	0.661	5	0.736
10	0.639	10	0.724
15	0.618	15	0.717
20	0.596	20	0.702
25	0.564	25	0.691
30	0.542	30	0.680
35	0.520	35	0.666
40	0.494	40	0.651
45	0.467	45	0.629
50	0.441	50	0.601
55	0.402	55	0.554
60	0.372	60	0.516
65	0.282	65	0.446
70	0.241	70	0.388
75	0.168	75	0.256

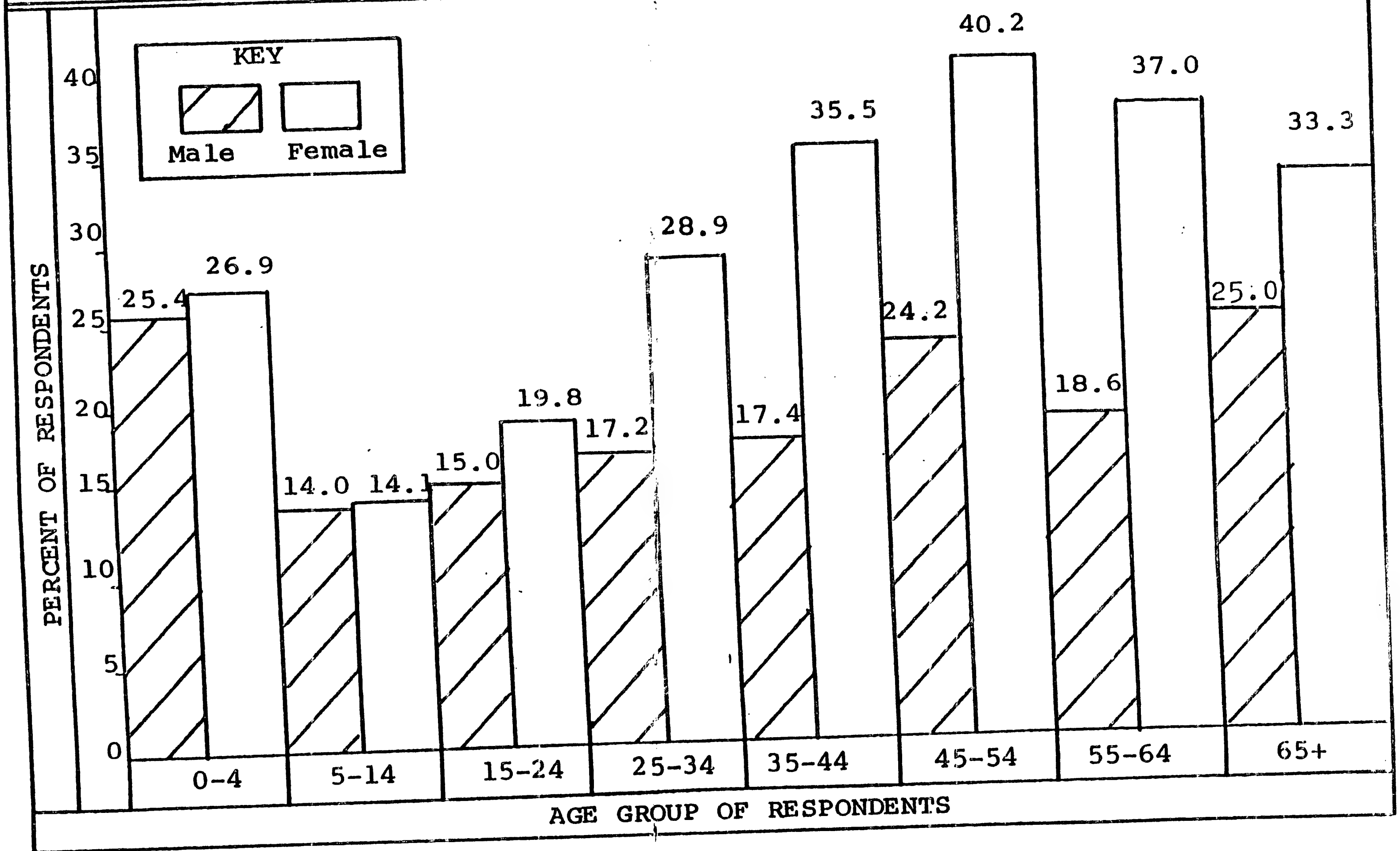
F. HEALTH:

The above information concerning Afghanistan's mortality is one indication of the poor health conditions which exist in the country. As illustration of some of the country's major health problems, a Health Survey of Three Provinces of Afghanistan (Baghlan, Ghazni, and Helmand) which was conducted in 1976 by Management Sciences For Health, a USAID contract team in the Ministry of Public Health, will be briefly reviewed. It was found

that the most commonly reported illnesses of the more than 700 respondents interviewed were: 1.) gastrointestinal problems, 2.) body aches, 3.) respiratory difficulties, and 4.) fevers. Infants, small children, and women encounter health problems by far the most frequently. Table 11 shows that in every age group more female respondents reported sickness; this becomes especially prevalent during their reproductive years, and it is suggested that this may be related to the difficulties of multiple childbirths (Management Sciences For Health 1977:25).

Although indigenous health practitioners such as the hakim (traditional medical practitioner/herbalist), shikastaband (bonesetter), and dai (traditional midwife) abound in both urban and rural settings, such is not the case for modern medical practitioners and facilities as is shown in Tables 12 and 13. Most of these health personnel and facilities are located in the capital of Kabul or in the country's provincial urban centers. Concerning female government-licensed and trained nurse-midwives, in 1976-1977 there were 176 in Afghanistan, 150 of whom were in Kabul province. A total of 76 auxilliary nurse-midwives also existed, and 23 of these female health practitioners were in Kabul province (UNICEF 1977).

TABLE 11: SICKNESS IN LAST TWO WEEKS AS REPORTED BY RESPONDENTS IN A HEALTH SURVEY OF THREE AFGHAN PROVINCES (BAGHLAN, GHAZNI, AND HELMAND) BY AGE AND SEX



(Source: Management Sciences For Health 1977:26)

TABLE 12: MODERN MEDICAL PERSONNEL IN AFGHANISTAN 1976-1977

	N	Approximate Population per Personnel Member
Doctors	1083	12,927
Nurses	1201	11,656
Laboratory technicians	430	32,558
Pharmacists	225	62,222
Compounders	364	38,461
Sanitarians	244	57,377
Health Engineers	5	2,800,000
Dentists & Assistants	135*	103,704
X-ray technicians	119	117,647
Vaccinators	275	50,909
Medical Recorders	24	583,333
TOTAL	4105	

*includes 7 dentists

(Source: World Bank 1978/Ministry of Public Health)

TABLE 13: HEALTH FACILITIES BY PROVINCE 1977 - BASIC HEALTH CLINICS (BHC), MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH (MCH) AND AFGHAN FAMILY GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION (AFGA) CLINICS, and PHARMACIES

Province	BHC	MCH-AFGA	Pharmacies (Estimates)
Badakhshan	4	1	4
Badghis	4	1	9
Baghlan	5	1	28
Balkh	3	1	29
Bamian	4	1	1
Farah	5	1	15
Fariab	5	1	13
Ghazni	7	1	37
Ghor	3	1	-
Helmand	2	1	7
Herat	4	1	49
Jawzjan	3	1	20
Kabul	6	12	154
Kandahar	4	1	33
Kunduz	2	1	32
Laghman	3	1	9
Logar	3	1	6
Nangarhar	11	1	41

(continued)

"Men as well as women shall be rewarded for their labors."
(Quran, Sura 4, Verse 32)

WOMEN AND THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN AFGHANISTAN

Increased participation of women in the process of socioeconomic development in Afghanistan is crucial. Largely unrealized to date, great potential exists among the female sector of the Afghan populace in both urban and rural settings to contribute more fully to their nation's economy, and efforts must be made to encourage their activities.

Afghanistan is composed of a number of geographically distinct regions which are inhabited by a variety of ethnic groups, and women of this Central Asian Muslim country themselves attest to its kaleidoscopic nature. Thus the subject of this report is extremely diverse. It includes the female university graduate employed in a government ministry in the capital city of Kabul, the urban housewife in a provincial center who travels to the local bazaar in <u>chadri</u> (an all-enveloping pleated veil which covers her from head to toe) to sell her embroidery, and another in a northern region of the country who weaves rugs in the seclusion of her compound walls. In addition, it deals with the village woman in the central mountains of Afghanistan who takes part in her household's agricultural tasks, the nomadic female in the southern desert region engaged in the preparation of dairy products, and a vast array of other individuals who actively contribute in many ways to the economic situation of both their families and their communities. How can the economic participation of these Afghan women most viably be enhanced?

Through the presentation of both quantitative and qualitative data, this discussion delineates the diverse character of women's lifestyles in Afghanistan along with some of the constraints which generally confront females in this comparatively conservative Muslim society. It illustrates not only the means by which women presently participate in their various communities, but also how their roles--as both contributors and beneficiaries--in future socioeconomic development efforts of Afghanistan can best be fostered.

A major aspect of my analysis concerns the networks of relationships which exist and also those that could be promoted between capital city, provincial urban center, and rural region which affect the female sector of the populace. On the institutional level this includes Afghanistan's formal educational system, its

Province	BHC	MCH-AFGA	Pharmacies (Estimates)
Nimroz	2	1	1
Oruzgan	2	1	3
Paktia	5	1	47
Parwan	8	1	30
Samangan	3	1	7
Takhar	5	1	11
Wardak	2	1	2
Zabul	2	-	7
TOTAL	107	37	595

(Source: World Bank 1978)

G. POPULATION GROWTH AND RELATED TOPICS:

In Afghan society offspring are highly valued. The ADS survey found that for Afghan females with no children the mean desired number of children was 4.4; the number of additional children desired decreased with an increase in parity, but many women with high parity also continued to want more offspring. Much value is placed in male children, and a ratio of almost 2 to 1 favoring boys was found to exist. In addition, women in rural areas desire approximately two times as many offspring (male and female) than do their urban counterparts.

Only 3.4% of the women interviewed in the survey reported that they had any knowledge of methods of family regulation (urban=14.4%; rural=1.6%). Of those who did have knowledge of the subject, 37.6% were users of some method (urban=47.8%; rural=16.6%). In addition, a total of 13.2% (urban=24.0%; rural=11.6%) of the females who had never utilized any methods desired to use them if available (Afghan Demographic Studies 1975).

The Afghan Family Guidance Association presently has 41 clinics in operation throughout the country, and their clients increase year by year. Table 14 illustrates that the pill is by far the most popular method utilized.

TABLE 14: AFGHAN FAMILY GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION CLINIC VISITS BY ACCEPTORS 1972 and 1976

Contraceptive Method	1972 New	1972 Continuing	1976 New	1976 Continuing
Pill	4,133	14,363	8,853	34,333
IUD	1,689	2,703	1,181	3,781
Diaphragm	35	17	24	47
Condom/Jelly/Foam	3,869	6,468	5,160	18,624
Depo Provera	-		71	586
TOTAL	9,726	23,551	15,289	57,371

(Source: World Bank 1978/Afghan Family Guidance Association)

It must also be noted that a vast array of indigenous methods of fertility regulation exists in Afghanistan. In a study of this subject, some 430 different methods were collected; an extremely high proportion (75%) of these means were for inducing pregnancy, 19% were for inhibiting pregnancy, and 6% were abortive (Hunte, et al. 1975).

Utilizing ADS data and also that of the Afghan government's Central Statistics Office, the World Bank (1978) has recently set forth the following estimates of the nation's rate of growth:

TABLE 15: THE AFGHAN POPULATION AND ITS RATE OF GROWTH 1972-1973/1976-1977

	'72-'73	'73-'74	'74-'75 (millions)	'75-'76	'76-'77	Average Annual Growth Rate '72-'73/'76-'77 (%)
TOTAL POPULATION	12.84	13.12	13.41	13.70	14.0	2.18
NOMADIC	1.38	1.41	1.44	1.47	1.5	2.0
SETTLED	11.46	11.71	11.97	12.23	12.5	2.2
Urban	1.77	1.82	1.88	1.94	2.0	3.1
Rural	9.69	9.89	10.09	10.29	10.5	2.03
Male	5.95	6.08	6.22	6.35	6.49	-
Female	5.51	5.63	5.75	5.88	6.01	-

H. MIGRATION:

In general, the Afghan population, excluding the country's nomads, does not appear to be extremely mobile. Concerning migration since birth, the ADS survey found that almost 75% of the nation's settled population were living in the settlements of their birth, 16% were residents of a different settlement in the same province, and 8% had moved to a different province. Urban dwellers seem to be more mobile than their rural counterparts, however; some 50% of the urban population were residing in their place of birth as compared to 80% of the rural populace (Kerr 1977:71). Males and females appear to exhibit quite similar patterns of migration, and this may be attributed to the movement of families rather than individuals (Afghan Demographic Studies 1975:99).

In a recent analysis of the pattern of migration by province and sex during a 1-year period prior to the 1972-1973 ADS survey, I found that both males and females most frequently tended to undertake moves within their provinces, although it is indefinite as to if these moves resulted in urbanization. In addition, a larger proportion of males than females migrated to another province; most frequently these moves were made to Kabul province by males from nearby regions such as Parwan, Laghman, Nangarhar, Paktia, Wardak, and Ghazni, along with the provinces of Bamiyan and Oruzgan in the general region of the Hazarajat. Females tended much more often than males to undertake moves within their own villages, a phenomenon which perhaps reflects moves following marriages into the households of their spouses. Females also exhibited extensive migratory patterns to Kabul province from the regions of Parwan, Laghman, and Nangarhar, however.

The World Bank report (1978:50) estimates that migration to Afghan urban centers has not occurred in great numbers recently except perhaps to the capital of Kabul.

In recent years migration external to Afghanistan has been increasing drastically, and there are unofficial estimates that approximately 250,000 individuals have migrated to Iran and the Gulf States since 1974. In general, these migrants are believed to be young males who are unskilled laborers from the western provinces and the Hazarajat region. Subsequently a shortage of agricultural labor has been experienced in many areas of Afghanistan. If these migrants were heads of household, they usually have left their families in the care of relatives, but undoubtedly this exodus of males has resulted in an increase in female heads of household.

I. EDUCATION:

The education of Afghan females plays a critical role in the country's socioeconomic development. Presented below is some basic quantitative information concerning their present status and rate of participation in the formal educational system.

LITERACY: As can be seen in Table 16, only 11.4% of Afghanistan's total population six years of age and older are literate, and a significantly greater proportion of males are able to read and write than females. In urban settings 14.8% of females are literate, while for rural females the exceedingly low figure of 0.6% is indeed striking.

TABLE 16: LITERACY OF THE AFGHAN POPULATION 6 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER

	URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL
MALE	35.5%	15.7%	18.7%
FEMALE	14.8%	0.6%	2.8%
TOTAL	25.9%	8.8%	11.4%

(Source: Afghan Demographic Studies 1975)

In an examination of data dealing with specific literacy rates for each province of the country, it was found that 12.8% of the females in Kabul province can read and write; this figure outranks all other regions of the country. In addition, however, the provinces of Balkh, Herat, and Kandahar each exhibit comparativ high percentages of female literacy (each approximately 2.3%). This is undoubtedly due to the presence of large urban centers in each of these provinces. Bamiyan, Paktia, and Zabul are regions of the lowest female literacy (0.1% or less).

The National Directorate of Adult Education is presently carrying out a project in non-formal education which includes both literacy and post-literacy programs for both sexes. Teams are active in a total of ten provinces, five of which include education facilities for adult females (Kabul, Baghlan, Kandahar, Nangarhar, and Herat). Some 41,700 men and 2,800 women are estimated to participate.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT: Approximate levels of highest educational attainment for Afghanistan are presented in Table 17.

TABLE 17: HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF THE AFGHAN SETTLED POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY URBAN/RURAL RESIDENCE AND SEX 1972-1973.

Educational Attainment	URBAN			RURAL			TOTAL		
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Both Sexes (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Both Sexes (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Both Sexe (%)
No formal education	55.4	81.1	67.1	80.7	98.5	88.7	76.9	95.8	85
Completed 6th grade	10.2	3.5	7.2	5.3	.3	3.1	6.0	.8	3.
Completed 12th grade	6.1	2.4	4.4	1.5	.0	.8	2.2	.4	1.

(Source: Afghan Demographic Studies 1975)

It should be noted that 85.4% of the total settled population 15 years of age and over have experienced no formal education whatsoever. More educational facilities being present in the towns and cities, urban percentages for both sexes are lower. In both urban and rural areas, however, higher percentages of the female populace lack any formal schooling as compared to males of similar residence and age group.

Concerning those who have attended school and completed sixth grade, percentages are very low regardless of residence or sex, but females have participated to a lesser degree than have their respective male counterparts; the same general pattern also exists for those few who have completed the twelfth grade.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT: The majority of formal educational institut in Afghanistan are sex-segregated from grades 1 to 12. As shown in Table 18, there is certainly not an overabundance of schools for either sex in the country; girls' schools form a definite minority at all levels, however. The city of Kabul itself contains 20% of the nation's primary schools for girls and 30% of its girls' lycees; some provinces have no lycees for females at all.

TABLE 18: NUMBER OF SCHOOLS IN AFGHANISTAN BY SEX 1974

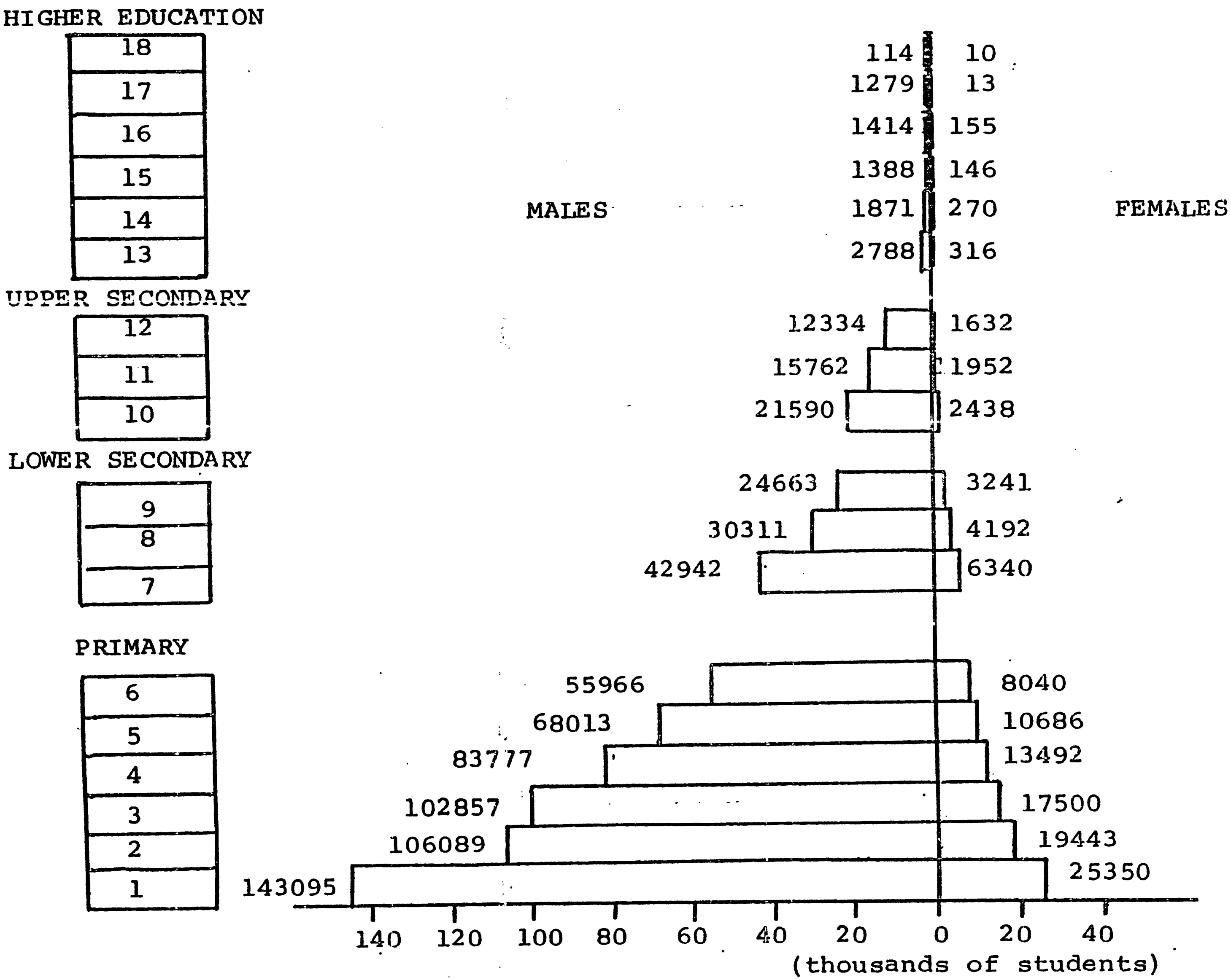
Type of Educational Institution	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	N	%	N	%	
VILLAGE SCHOOLS* (3-4 elementary grades and 1-3 teachers)	1668	87.5	237	12.4	1905
PRIMARY SCHOOLS* (6-8 elementary grades)	1280	87.3	186	12.7	1466
MIDDLE SCHOOLS* (grades 7-9)	467	90.2	51	9.8	518
LYCEES* (grades 10-12)	166	84.7	30	15.3	196
TOTAL	3581	87.7	508	12.3	4085

*The Educational Reform of 1975, which is now under implementation calls for the conversion of many village schools to primary schools; in addition, grades 7 and 8 of middle schools are to be merged with primary schools and 9th grades of middle schools are to be merged with lycees.

(Source: Educational Statistics 1974, Department of Planning, Ministry of Education

Enrollment in these institutions is graphically illustrated in the educational pyramid in Table 19 and, correspondingly, it is clearly evident that females compose a small portion of Afghan school students. With reference to Afghanistan's total school-age population, low percentages of both sexes at every grade level are enrolled in school. While 51.2% of all 7-12 year old males are in primary school, only 8.6% of the females in the same age group attend primary school, however. Dropout rates are acute, and attendance shrinks drastically as educational levels increase. Indeed, at the lycee level only 11.9% of the nation's males in this age group are enrolled as compared to a very low 1.4% for females of lycee age (Table 20).

TABLE 19: EDUCATIONAL PYRAMID 1974-1975



(Source: World Bank 1978; Department of Planning, Ministry of Education)

TABLE 20: PROPORTION OF SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION ENROLLED IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BY SEX 1974

Type of Educational Institution	Approximate Percent of Age Group Enrolled
PRIMARY SCHOOL	
Male	51.2
Female	8.6
Total	30.0
MIDDLE SCHOOL	
Male	21.0
Female	3.0
Total	12.0
LYCEE	
Male	11.9
Female	1.4
Total	6.7

(Source: World Bank 1978; Educational Statistics 1974, Department of Planning, Ministry of Education)

There has been a substantial growth in the school enrollment of Afghan females in recent years, however. As compared with the number of females in grades 1-9 in the mid-1960s, more than twice as many girls are in school today and at the lycee level there are at least five times more females in school at present. The growth in male enrollment in the same time period is even more extensive.

In addition to the presence of seven girls' lycees in the capital city of Kabul, a girls' vocational high school also exists by the name of Jamouriat (Republican) Lycee. This institution is oriented towards business education and contains grades 7-12. The number of females who attend the school has grown yearly since its establishment in the late 1960s, and it has a present enrollment of approximately 580 students. Thus approximately 13% of all of Afghanistan's vocational secondary school students (N=4,487) are female.

Following graduation from grade 12, individuals who intend to enter the field of primary education attend higher education institutions which are located both in Kabul and a number of provincial urban centers. As can be seen from Table 21, 17.5%

TABLE 21: ENROLLMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS FOR PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS 1975-1976

	Institution	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
		N	%	N	%	
	<u>Academy for Teacher Educators - Kabul</u> (for instructors of primary teachers)	221	68.6	101	31.4	322
	<u>Kabul Higher Teachers College</u> (4-year course for lycee teachers; 2-year course for primary teachers)	518	57.4	385	42.6	903
TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTES (2-year course for primary teachers) — Functioning	Charikar (Parwan)	547	96.3	21	3.7	568
	Gardez	365	100.0	-	-	365
	Herat	524	84.4	97	15.6	621
	Kabul	655	81.9	145	18.1	800
	Kandahar	235	97.1	7	2.9	242
	Kunduz	489	94.8	27	5.2	516
	Mazar Sharif (Balkh)	290	65.2	155	34.8	445
	Jalalabad (Nangarhar)	655	97.5	17	2.5	672
Newly Established	Faryab	-	-	-	-	-
	Takhar	-	-	-	-	-
	Samangan	-	-	-	-	-
	Helmand	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	4499	82.5	955	17.5	5454

(Source: Unicef 1977; Central Statistics Office)

of the students in these schools are female and 82.5% are male. Males predominate in all of these schools, especially those located in the southern provinces. The Teacher Training Institute in the northern city of Mazar Sharif is quite a provincial exception with females composing 34.8% of its student body in 1975-1976. When I visited the school in March of 1978, however, I found that the number of men students had expanded considerably more than the number of women students in the past few years, and presently 20.8% of the school's students are female. Equipped with a women's

dormitory which houses 43 females from six nearby provinces, the Mazar Sharif Teacher Training Institute is the major training center for prospective teachers in northern Afghanistan. The government is planning to construct new dormitories and renovate existing facilities for both males and females in the Teacher Training Institutes of Parwan, Herat, Kandahar, Mazar Sharif, and Nangarhar in the early 1980s; these dorms will provide residence units for 800 men and 160 women in each provincial center, and will hopefully lead to increased enrollment.

University facilities in Afghanistan include Kabul University, with the majority of its faculties in the capital city along with a branch of its Faculty of Medicine in Jalalabad (Nangarhar), and the Soviet-aided Polytechnic which is also located in Kabul. Female students are present in each of these institutions of higher education, and compose 10.5% of the country's university students (Table 22). Their representation in individual faculties varies considerably, however, with the Faculty of Engineering and the Faculty of Letters including the greatest number of women students. Three choices of faculties are allotted to the individual (Medicine appears to be the most popular choice for both sexes), but scores obtained from a university entrance examination finally determine what faculty a 12th grade graduate will enter. Interestingly the highest percentage of women in a single faculty is in Theology (27.8%); respondents have mentioned that the necessary entrance scores for this subject are comparatively low. Be that as it may, it is encouraging to find that a large number of females are involved in this course of university study. Indeed, it is quite reassuring that Afghan women are present in every faculty of Kabul University and also in the Polytechnic.

Of the Afghan women presently obtaining a university education in Kabul, approximately 70% are from the capital city itself while almost 30% are from the nation's provinces; these provincial women reside in the women's dormitory of Kabul University. This is presently lacking in many necessary facilities, and future construction of a new residence unit for provincial female university students with USAID assistance is an important step which will encourage additional women who do not reside in Kabul to pursue a university education. In recent fieldwork I have spoken with women in the provinces of Balkh, Kandahar, and Herat who mentioned that with the presence of adequate dormitory facilities more provincial women will obtain their familys' permission to attend Kabul University. Others who in previous years had attended local Teacher Training Institutes (DMAs) noted

public health programs, the activities of the government-sponsored Afghan Women's Organization (since the recent revolution this has become the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization) and its provincial branches, along with a number of other communicative linkages which unite the nation and foster the circulation of ideas within and across regional boundaries.

Closely related to these institutional articulations but more on the individual level of analysis, I am also interested in what types of novel role models for women are in the process of being introduced or hold promise for future introduction in various regions of Afghanistan. Of crucial importance is how these are presently being received by both sexes. A wide variety of legitimate roles for Afghan females exists in different contexts, and I will explore some of the factors which are involved in the acceptance or rejection of new role opportunities.

As introduction to both Afghanistan and its women, I begin my discussion with an examination of existing statistical data which relates to females of the country and concerns such topics as basic population parameters, participation in formal education, and economic activity. This macroscopic approach will serve to place the second section of my report in a broader perspective, which contains a series of four anthropological profiles of Afghan women in the capital city of Kabul, provincial urban centers, village communities, and nomadic settings.

This is followed by a review of government-sponsored and foreign-assisted programs which relate to the female sector of the populace, along with summaries of interviews my counterpart, Sharifa, and I have conducted during recent fieldwork (March-June 1978). Government officials, educators, health personnel, women leaders, and other individuals were spoken with in both Kabul and the provinces concerning the subject of women and the development process in Afghanistan.

To bring this discussion up to date, a brief review of recent events in Afghanistan, specifically since the revolution which took place on April 27, 1978, is also of necessity. With the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan a number of changes in governmental organization and personnel have subsequently occurred with respect to women's programs and activities, and the new regime appears to be sincerely concerned with improving the status of the Afghan female.

TABLE 22: UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT IN AFGHANISTAN BY FACULTY AND SEX 1976-1977

FACULTY	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	N	%	N	%	
Law	465	97.1	14	2.9	479
Science	598	96.0	25	4.0	623
Letters	796	81.9	176	18.1	972
Education	357	82.1	78	17.9	435
Theology	244	72.2	94	27.8	338
Economics	587	91.7	53	8.3	640
Engineering	725	77.5	211	22.5	936
Medicine (Kabul)	897	91.2	87	8.8	984
Medicine (Nangarhar)	517	98.5	8	1.5	525
Pharmacy	256	88.9	32	11.1	288
Agriculture	725	99.3	5	.7	730
Veterinary Science	123	91.1	12	8.9	135
Polytechnic	1115	94.1	70	5.9	1185
TOTAL	7405	89.5	865	10.5	8270

(Source: UNICEF 1977; Central Statistics Office)

that if dorm facilities had been available when they had graduated from 12th grade, they would have undertaken university study in Kabul. I also spoke with a number of provincial women who had attended Kabul University, resided in the dorm, and returned to the provinces following graduation to work in their home communities as teachers, instructors in Teacher Training Institutes, and electrical engineer. All of these individuals along with their relatives stressed the value of a university residence unit for females in order to promote attendance from other regions of the country. Improved dormitory facilities at Kabul University are of necessity, and the future impact of the planned USAID project upon the status of Afghan women throughout the country can be nothing but positive.

J. ECONOMY:

As male government officials in the Central Statistics Office mentioned during recent conversations (April 1978), Afghan women engage in a diverse number of economic activities in both the private sphere of their households and the public sphere of their communities; it was also stated that the exact nature of their participation in the national economy is extremely difficult to measure precisely. Existing statistical data briefly presented below provides a general perspective on the subject, however, and also furnishes information as to specific areas of female activity which hold promise for future women's programs relating to the socioeconomic development of Afghanistan.

For the settled Afghan population a general estimate of economic activity levels according to sex was obtained in the ADS survey (Table 23). It was found that 67.3% of the males and only 8.1% of the females eight years of age and older were reported as economically active (Afghan Demographic Studies 1975:93).

TABLE 23: ECONOMIC ACTIVITY LEVELS OF SETTLED POPULATION 8 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY URBAN/RURAL RESIDENCE AND SEX 1972-1973

	URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL
MALE	60.1	68.6	67.3
FEMALE	8.2	8.1	8.1
TOTAL	36.3	41.4	40.6

(Source: Afghan Demographic Studies 1975)

If individuals had worked "for money or gain" within a period of seven days prior to the interviews and their occupations could be cited, they were considered economically active; interviewers were instructed that housewives should not be considered as such but that women who were rug weavers, handicraft workers, etc., were to be recorded as active. Although males of rural regions are more economically active than their urban counterparts, it is interesting to note that the level of economic activity recorded for urban and rural females is very similar (8.2% and 8.1% respectively).

As noted previously, an extremely high sex ratio of approximately 116 was obtained from the ADS survey and, based upon a lower sex ratio of 108, the above figure of 8.1% has since been adjusted to 10.5% (World Bank 1978). Certainly this low percentage is one indication of the heavy seclusion of many Afghan females within the private sphere, but I would suggest that in addition this data reflects an underestimate of economically active women. In ADS fieldwork, economic information was gathered primarily from male heads of household who in many cases could have been reticent to mention their female relatives' economic undertakings or perhaps were unaware of such. Also, a large sample survey of this nature cannot be expected to be able to record the nuances of womens' many economic contributions to both household and community.

Presented in Table 24 is Afghanistan's labor force composition in various sectors of the nation's econ0my by sex; these figures reflect an updating of ADS data combined with estimates made by an economic mission of the World Bank (World Bank 1978). It is immediately apparent that agriculture forms the backbone of Afghanistan's economy with handicrafts also being of great significance. A large number of women are involved in handicrafts and, indeed, in this sector they exhibit a far greater representation than men. The number of females involved in other areas is not as extensive, but many are also found in the sectors of agriculture and services. As may be expected in this conservative Muslim society, their representation in commerce is very low.

Original ADS data concerning economic activities of the settled population allows for a more detailed examination of female participation, and permits a general comparison between urban and rural feminine activities (Tables 25 and 26). Major categories of occupation included in these tables call for brief explanation, and examples of female occupations in each category are:

Professional Technical, and Related: physician, nurse, midwife, teacher, etc.

Administrative and Managerial: government administrator, office manager, production manager, personnel manager, keepers of storeroom, etc.

Clerical and Related: stenographer, typist, receptionist, bookkeeper telephone operator, etc.

TABLE 24: LABOR FORCE COMPOSITION OF AFGHANISTAN'S POPULATION 8 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY ECONOMIC SECTOR AND SEX 1975-1976

(in thousands)

Economic Sector	Settled Population			Nomads	Total Labor Force	Percent of Total Labor Force
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL			
Agriculture & Livestock	1869.0	78.8	1947.8	545.0	2492.8	52.9
Handicrafts	115.6	237.5	353.1	490.5	843.6	17.9
Industry and Mining	35.7	5.0	40.7	-	40.7	0.9
Construction	43.4	1.3	44.7	-	44.7	0.9
Transport and Communications	56.5	0.1	56.6	-	56.6	1.2
Commerce	201.5	1.3	202.8	54.5	257.3	5.5
Services	638.0	53.6	691.6	-	691.6	14.7
Other	61.8	6.2	68.0	-	68.0	1.4
Unknown	45.3	41.9	87.2	-	87.2	1.9
Unemployed	113.2	14.3	127.5	-	127.5	2.7
Total	3180.0	440.0	3620.0	1090.0	4710.0	100.0

(Source: World Bank 1978)

Sales: shop owner, shop worker, travelling salesperson, household-based seller, street vendor, etc.

Service: hairdresser, public bath worker, charwoman, cook, servant, etc.

Agricultural, Animal Husbandry, and Related: general farm worker, livestock/dairy worker, poultry raiser, etc.

Production and Related: weaver, spinner, knitter, tailor, embroiderer, food and beverage producer, etc. (household or factory)

In Afghanistan's urban areas we find that unpaid family workers in production-related occupations predominate. As to be expected, this is also the context in which the majority of the nation's female government employees in the occupational categories of professional/technical and clerical are found. In addition, Afghan

women in both sales and services are located in greater numbers in cities and towns than in the rural areas. Many privately employed female service workers also exist and, although urban self-employed women are certainly not overabundant, their representation is quite considerable in comparison to rural regions of the country with respect to sample size. In general, women participate in a variety of economic activities in these urban centers.

The rural sample reveals a great representation of unpaid family workers involved in production and also, to a lesser degree, in agriculture/animal husbandry. To be noted are the rural females who are privately employed service workers; these are often wives or daughters of sharecroppers who work as servants in the households of their respective landowners. While urban female administrators/ managers are almost completely employed by the government, rural women in the same occupational category are largely unpaid family workers or are self-employed. I believe this is indicative of rural women who manage and train groups of females in household industries such as rug weaving, silk weaving, etc.

The government pays its civil servants according to their specific rank regardless of sex, and a recent salary scale, which perhaps has been altered since the revolution, is included in Table 27. Usually an individual works for a period of approximately three years before he or she advances in rank. Most employees enter the system at rank 10, but a university graduate begins work with a rank of 9; the Central Statistics Office aids in placing these individuals in various ministries or other positions. To supplement these salaries, government employees also receive fringe benefits in the form of subsidized foodstuffs, daily lunches, and health insurance. With respect to women's employment in this area, in 1975-1976 approximately 5.6% (N=2384) of government employees (total=42549) were female. This included individuals who worked in various ministries and banks, and also with the air authority (Bott 1978).

As illustrated in Table 28, a number of females are also employed by the government in the field of education, especially as primary school teachers. Their representation even in this occupation is much less than that of males, however.

Type of Employment	MAJOR CATEGORY OF OCCUPATION							TOTAL	
	Profession-al, Technical, and Related	Administrative and Managerial	Clerical and Related	Sales	Services	Agricultural, Animal Husbandry, & Related	Production and Related	N	%
Government Employee	6,056	294	1,559	0	451	0	289	8,649	27.[illegible]
Private Employee	184	0	146	80	4,697	198	1,259	6,564	21.[illegible]
Self-Employed	23	12	0	0	0	105	80	220	0.[illegible]
Unpaid Family Worker	34	0	0	191	975	761	13,682	15,643	50.3
Total	6,297	306	1,705	271	6,123	1,064	15,310	31,076	100.0
% of Total Urban Sample:	20.2	1.0	5.5	0.9	19.7	3.4	49.3	100.0	

(Source: Afghan Demographic Studies 1975)

RURAL FEMALES 1972-1973

Type of Employment	MAJOR CATEGORY OF OCCUPATION							Total	
	Profession-al, Techni-cal, and Related	Administra-tive and Managerial	Clerical and Related	Sales	Services	Agricultural, Animal Husbandry, & Related	Production and Related	N	%
Government Employee	725	0	163	0	0	0	76	964	0.7
Private Employee	0	49	0	0	2,957	1,443	5,678	10,127	7.3
Self-Employed	0	166	0	0	0	0	210	376	0.2
Unpaid Family Worker	0	481	0	109	1,475	17,643	108,196	127,904	91.8
Total	725	696	163	109	4,432	19,086	114,160	139,371	100.0
% of Total Rural Sample	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.07	3.2	13.7	82.0	100.0	

(Source: Afghan Demographic Studies 1975)

TABLE 27: SALARY SCALE FOR CIVIL SERVANTS 1977

Rank	Salary (*afghanis* per month; US$1=approximately 40 *afghanis*)	Examples of Positions
1	6,000 (approximately $150)	Deputy Minister, some presidents
2	5,100	Presidents of departments
3	4,250	General director
4	3,050	Director
5	2,750	Sub-director
6	2,500	Senior staff member
7	2,200	Staff member
8	1,900	Junior staff member
9	1,750	"
10	1,600 (approximately $40)	Clerk

(Source: ILO 1978)

TABLE 28: NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN AFGHANISTAN BY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION AND SEX 1974

Educational Institution	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	N	%	N	%	
Village schools	2705	98.6	37	1.4	2742
Primary schools	11659	78.6	3178	21.4	14837
Secondary schools	6269	87.4	907	12.6	7176
Kabul University	695	94.3	42	5.7	737
Total	21328	83.7	4164	16.3	25492

(Source: Educational Statistics 1974, Department of Planning, Ministry of Education)

In the industrial sector females comprise approximately 4.2% of the labor force. Table 29 presents this information in detail, and illustrates that in 1975-1976 some 1,536 workers out of a total of 36,875 were women. Most of these females are involved in production, although a number are also recorded as being part of the administrative staff. The fertilizer and electricity establishment in Mazar Sharif employs the largest number of women; in addition, factories which process foods and beverages or produce cotton cloth also have considerable numbers of female workers.

In conclusion, quantitative data of a general nature concerning women's participation in handicrafts also exists. In 1975-1976 the Central Statistics Office conducted a survey of handicrafts in eleven provinces of the country (Kabul, Parwan, Kunduz, Balkh, Faryab, Nangarhar, Ghazni, Kandahar, Helmand, Farah, and Herat) and, as Table 30 illustrates, women included in this sample undertake a variety of such activities. Female workers were found to predominate in the areas of embroidery work, carpet weaving, gelim (flat-weave wool rug) weaving, bag and sack making, and cap making, and they are also active in many other handicraft categories which were surveyed. The largest number of women are involved in carpet weaving and embroidery work. The degree to which specific types of handicrafts are undertaken by women varies from region to region, and in Table 31 basic differences found to exist between these provinces are shown. Near the capital of Kabul the making of sheepskin coats and pottery is very common; in the northern provinces carpet weaving predominates, and the southern areas of the country are famous for embroidery work; much overlap between regions exists, however, and these should be considered only general approximations.

* * *

This brief summary of quantitative data pertaining to the female sector of Afghanistan's populace sets the scene for the following section of anthropological profiles.

INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY	Total # of Factory Units	Administrative Staff		Production Workers		Other Employees		Total # of Employees	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Foods & Beverages	27	511	39	1,396	330	500	3	2,407	372
Oil Extraction (vegetable)	14	927	14	1,666	15	1,286	7	3,879	36
Synthetic Fabrics	26	247	2	2,112	75	250	3	2,609	80
Cotton Fabrics	3	717	42	9,239	220	1,464	26	11,420	288
Other Cotton Products	1	63	–	70	–	90	–	223	–
Wool Fabrics	2	76	–	715	64	81	3	872	67
Other Weaving	7	38	1	137	64	35	–	210	65
Leather Work and Tanning	9	41	–	241	–	44	–	326	–
Leather Shoes	3	60	6	499	–	33	–	542	6
Carpentry/Carton Making	4	94	17	580	–	106	2	780	119
Presses and Publication	22	381	15	847	7	187	10	1,410	32
Pharmaceuticals and Fat Production	4	111	20	48	67	94	1	253	88
Coal Briquettes & Cement	3	190	–	851	–	171	–	1,212	–
Plastics	12	78	–	638	26	87	–	803	26
Stone Work (alabaster,etc.)	5	24	–	381	–	29	–	434	–
Technical	14	341	8	927	–	243	3	1,511	11
Mazar Sharif Fertilizer and Electricity	1	389	24	2,459	404	592	–	3,440	428
Coal	4	45	–	1,806	1	132	–	1,983	1
Salt	5	27	–	172	–	46	–	245	–
Lapis Lazuli and Talc	3	35	–	258	–	46	–	335	4
Natural Gas Extraction and Distribution	1	235	4	336	3	81	–	652	7
Electricity	18	344	4	701	2	279	4	1,324	10
TOTAL	188	4,974	196	26,029	1,278	5,872	62	36,875	1,536

(Source: Statistical Information of Afghanistan 1975-1976, Central Statistics Office)

In conclusion, a series of recommendations specific to the Afghan context is then presented which relates to the future Near Eastern Regional Training Project for Women that is to be sponsored by USAID. In addition, suggestions are included concerning the establishment of other viable programs which would also involve females. The major goal of these activities is to enhance the ability of Afghan women to participate in their nation's socioeconomic development.

I. AFGHAN WOMEN: A STATISTICAL PERSPECTIVE

To date a national census of Afghanistan has not been undertaken; existing statistical information concerning the country frequently exhibits conflicting results, and it is often lacking in necessary detail. In spite of these drawbacks, however, a variety of publications are available which contain valuable information, and a review of selected portions of this data is necessary for a better understanding of the present situation of Afghan women in general.

The quantitative information appearing below has been collected from a number of sources which include the 1972-1973 National Demographic and Family Guidance Survey of the Settled Population of Afghanistan, conducted by Afghan Demographic Studies (ADS), Statistical Information of Afghanistan, which is available annually from the nation's Central Statistics Office (CSO), Afghanistan: The Journey to Economic Development of the World Bank (1978), UNICEF's Statistical Profile of Children and Mothers in Afghanistan (1977), publications from various government ministries, and others.

Before I turn to the statistical data assembled to date it should be noted that the Central Statistics Office, in conjunction with the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), plans to undertake the first national census of the Afghan population in the spring of 1979. It is expected that both male and female interviewers, a large proportion of whom are teachers, will carry out the necessary fieldwork. The official seal of the coming census prior to the recent revolution, which was frequently seen in the windows of shops, taxis, and buses in the capital of Kabul, appears on page 4. Captions are written in both Pushtu and Farsi, which are two of the major languages of the country. "The first national census of Afghanistan" rings the seal in Pushtu, and "we count until we know" is the Farsi slogan in the center circle. With respect to the topic of this report, it is also interesting

TABLE 30: TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS IN VARIOUS HANDICRAFTS BY SEX 1975-1976

HANDICRAFT	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	N	%	N	%	N
Carpet Weaving (knotted)	5,535	7.6	67,065	92.4	72,600
Gelim Weaving (flat-weave wool rugs)	1,011	8.5	10,803	91.5	11,814
Namad Making (felt rugs)	838	52.7	751	47.3	1,589
Satranji Weaving (flat-weave cotton rugs)	3,657	98.9	42	1.1	3,699
Postin/Postincha Making (sheepskin coats/vests)	3,003	96.3	114	3.7	3,117
Embroidery Work	161	.6	27,524	99.4	27,685
Knife Making	456	100.0	-	-	456
Pottery	418	78.7	113	21.3	531
Shall Weaving	1,880	96.3	72	3.7	1,952
Canvas Weaving	4,204	69.5	1,847	30.5	6,051
Cap Making	395	19.8	1,595	80.2	1,990
Bag and Sack Making	680	13.4	4,377	86.6	5,057
TOTAL	22,238	16.3	114,303	83.7	136,541

(Source: Statistical Yearbook 1975-1976; ILO 1978)

TABLE 31: DIFFERENTIAL FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN HANDICRAFTS IN ELEVEN PROVINCES OF AFGHANISTAN 1975-1976

HANDICRAFT	PROVINCE											TOTAL
	KABUL	PARWAN	KUNDUZ	BALKH	FARYAB	NANGARHAR	GHAZNI	KANDAHAR	HELMAND	FARAH	HERAT	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Carpet Weaving (knotted)	-	-	34.0	81.8	92.9	-	25.8	.02	21.6	68.7	69.8	58.7
Gelim Weaving (flat-weave wool rugs)	-	20.0	9.2	8.2	3.1	-	45.2	-	-	9.1	21.6	9.4
Namad Making (felt rugs)	-	3.4	3.7	-	.2	-	-	1.13	-	-	.8	.7
Satrangi Weaving (flat-weave cotton rugs)	-	-	.5	.1	.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	.04
Postin/postincha Making (sheepskin coats/vests)	82.1	-	-	-	-	-	6.4	-	-	-	-	.1
Embroidery Work	6.7	-	6.4	1.2	.17	-	22.6	97.15	78.4	16.8	.3	24.1
Pottery	9.0	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.1
Shall Weaving	2.2	-	-	.1	.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	.06
Canvas Weaving	-	54.4	.1	6.1	.5	-	-	-	-	-	1.9	1.6
Cap Making	-	-	10.7	2.5	1.7	-	-	1.7	-	-	-	1.4
Bag and Sack Making	-	2.2	35.4	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	5.2	5.5	3.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS (FEMALE)	134	505	4,112	13,321	1,105	-	62	24,934	102	15,675	32,640	92,950

(Source: Statistical Yearbook 1975-1976; Bott 1978)

II. PROFILES OF AFGHAN WOMEN

To illustrate the diverse nature of Afghan women, a series of sociocultural profiles of four general types of female life-styles characteristic of urban and rural settings is presented. Classified according to pattern of residence, the basic categories with which I am concerned are:

1. women of the capital city of Kabul
2. women of provincial urban centers
3. village women
4. nomadic women

Generalizations are somewhat difficult and, indeed, these categories are not mutually exclusive. For example, there are women in some sectors of the capital city of Kabul whose daily activities in fact share many similarities with those of many village females. In spite of overlap, however, representative lifestyles specific to each of the four social settings can be ascertained, and these cases form the basis for the following profiles.

Some aspects of Afghan society of a traditional nature must first be mentioned which relate to women of the nation in general, and function as culturally condoned constricts to their activities--both economic and otherwise. One of the most crucial of these concerns the orientation of Islam, a religious ideology which pervades many realms of Afghan society including the subject of women. The general interpretation of Islam in Afghanistan exerts an especially conservative force upon the society, and designates a range of norms from which deviation is negatively sanctioned. Within this traditional Muslim framework, males and females are seen to fulfill quite separate but complimentary roles. Segregation of sex roles is, of course, characteristic of all societies to some degree but in Afghanistan the separation is extensive, and beliefs and values of a religious nature serve as guides not only to sex role allocation but also for traditionally ideal conduct between males and females.

With respect to the sexual division of labor, the male is seen to be the provider, the bread-winner who functions in the public sphere, while the female's domain is interpreted as being within the home, where she is involved in household tasks and childrearing. This dichotomization into the public domain of the male and the private domain of the female is a conceptualization--albeit oversimplified--which can be taken as the idealized traditional norm.

The separate worlds of men and women relate to the concept of <u>symbolic shelter</u> which has been utilized to analyze the situation of women in Pakistan (Papanek 1971, 1973). I find this also to

be of value in describing the dynamics of Afghan male/female interaction and the associated subject of female seclusion. The private domain of one's household which in Afghanistan is usually contained within a high-walled compound becomes a shelter, both physically and psychologically, from a public world outside which is perceived by both sexes as perilous. In a similar fashion, the images of peril and refuge have been employed by Gulick (1976) as a framework to describe a variety of human relations in general throughout Middle Eastern Muslim societies; refuge is taken within one's household or compound from dangerous political, economic, and other social forces of the public sphere. Men seek some measure of control over their unpredictable environment, and at least are able to achieve this in the sheltering or seclusion of their women.

In the Afghan setting, female members of a household become prime representatives of family honor, and their behavior contains the potential to either enhance the unit's status or destroy it. In spite of the great degree of pride which characterizes the Afghan psyche, this is also combined with an element of insecurity. A family's reputation is of utmost importance, and the power of negative gossip concerning the unit and its members' behavior is highly feared; as in other Muslim cultures (Dodd 1973), in Afghanistan what other people think takes on as much import as what actually transpires. Maintenance of the sexual purity and chastity of females is seen to be the epitome of family honor, and traditionally a strict modesty code regulates female activities.

Patrilineal in orientation (tracing descent through males), the family is a fundamental unit of utmost importance in Afghan society, and the traditional functions of this tightly knit system of interacting personalities are diverse. Some of these include the enculturation of its children, the selection of spouses for its youth (preferably with their first cousins), the designation of occupations for maturing members, and the according of security for its aged. In the Afghan setting, the significance of relatives cannot be overestimated; one is immersed in kinsmen which can be conceptualized as concentric rings surrounding the individual of family, extended family, clan, tribe, and confederacy (Hanifi 1973).

Given the normative constraints mentioned above, the mobility of Afghan women in the public sphere is often restricted by one means or another, the degree of which varies from family to family and also according to residence pattern, class, and ethnic group. These variations will be discussed in more detail in the following profiles, and only a few general comments concerning means of mobility will be made here.

In conservative families even the viewing of a female member who has passed puberty by a non-kin male can be interpreted as a type of sexual contact, and thus symbolic shelter in some form of

seclusion is taken. Hair is considered to be one of the most attractive portions of a female's body and thus head scarves are common for both girls and women even within their households. Nomadic women and many sectors of the rural female populace, whos important roles in pastoral and agricultural activities preclude heavy seclusion, are often able to travel quite freely in their communities wearing long headscarves of red or black, but they ma retreat into tent or compound if unfamiliar males appear. A number of females in towns and larger provincial urban centers, especially those who have recently married, are heavily secluded in their compounds from contact with males who are not close relatives, and in some cases they are not to be seen by even thei brothers-in-law. Other women are able to leave their compounds, some much more frequently than others, under a variety of mobile symbolic shelters which are seen to protect the individual's virtue and subsequently guard the family honor by establishing a correct degree of interpersonal distance between the female and any non-kin males she may encounter in the public domain.

The most conservative of these is the <u>chadri</u>, which is largel an urban phenomenon. This is an all-enveloping pleated veil covering the body from head to toe which allows limited vision for the wearer through a small netting over the eyes; <u>chadris</u> are usually blue, green, or shades of gold, and some regional variatio of this garment in type of material used or embroidery patterns exists. Other forms of extreme veiling are also present; for example, a black apron-like garment and white face veil is worn by certain sectors of the populace in some southern cities, and a robe-like covering is seen in many northern urban centers.

Although it is clearly evident that an increasing number of women are discarding the <u>chadri</u> and openly appearing in public, another phenomenon on the other end of the veiling continuum is also occurring which must be mentioned. In some sectors of the populace, the seclusion of women is perceived by both sexes as a symbol of status, and with upward mobility, females who were not previously restricted to their compounds or who did not wear the <u>chadri</u> are adopting such customs. This also occurs in cases of migration to urban centers from the rural regions.

To some females the <u>chadri</u> itself provides mobility along with anonymity; without the wearing of the garment, they would be unable to leave their compounds to go to the bazaar, visit other households, or attend school, and would thus be limited in their range of activities in the public sphere. On some occasions, women who are not compelled to wear the <u>chadri</u> do so out of convenience; by wearing the veil they need not dress up for short trips to the bazaar or for travel to a friend's house for tea.

An Iranian fashion, <u>chadar-namaz</u> ("prayer scarf") is another form of veiling which one also sees frequently on the streets of

both Kabul and the large provincial centers; this is a large veil which covers head and body but which allows the face to be visible. It is especially popular in Herat near the Iranian border.

Some women also appear on urban streets wearing simply a chadar (headscarf), which is also a required portion of schoolgirls' uniforms. A small but fast-growing minority, especially the younger generation of Kabul, do not find it necessary to cover their heads at all in public, and their street fashions range from conservative dresses to T-shirts and jeans.

* * *

The general points discussed above serve as introduction to the following sociocultural profiles which are largely descriptive in nature and deal with the daily activities of Afghan women in four different social settings.

1. WOMEN OF THE CAPITAL CITY OF KABUL

Representing nearly 40 percent of Afghanistan's total urban populace, the capital of Kabul is a bustling city of approximately 600,000 residents. As the major center of government, commerce, and communications, it is clearly the hub of the nation. Physically the city itself is a conglomerate of old and new. Many sectors such as Shar-i-Kona (Old City) are composed of ancient high-walled compounds intersected by narrow winding foot-paths and localized bazaars which appear much as they did a century ago. Other areas such as Shar-i-Nau (New City) and its adjacent neighborhoods are quite modern in appearance and exhibit numerous government ministries, offices, and foreign embassies along with recently constructed hospitals, restaurants, and stores; supermarkets and department stores in these newer areas are stocked with a variety of imported consumer goods. Along with more than 350 mosques (Dupree 1975:6), Kabul is also the site of the nation's international airport, university, and radio station. Numerous cinemas, tourist hotels, a museum, and a zoo may also be found in the busy city. The majority of the country's factories are located here, and a growing industrial park has been established on the northeast edge of the capital. The streets of many of Kabul's growing suburbs are neatly laid out in grid pattern and are bordered by spatious compounds of modern residential units or apartment complexes. Compound walls prevail in both old and new sections, however, and private life turns inward towards the courtyard and away from the crowded thoroughfares.

Similarly, women of Kabul themselves exhibit a variety of old and new lifestyles. This is clearly reflected by the wide range

of different types of economic activities in both the private and public spheres in which females are involved. Table 32 contains a listing of these heterogeneous undertakings along with some approximations of respective salaries. Economic activities are defined as those for which either the family unit or the woman herself receives remuneration for either her services or for the product she makes. Those who are government employees receive salaries according to their rank (refer to salary scale on Page 37). This listing for the capital city should be compared with Table 34 (Page 66) which concerns women's economic activities in Afghanistan's provincial urban centers.

In the private sphere of the household, many women of Kabul continue to be occupied in income-generating areas quite similar to those of females in other sectors of the country. As in provincial urban centers, tailors and beauticians based in their homes abound throughout the city; similar to both provincial urban centers and rural regions, handicraft workers, traditional health personnel, and food preparers are also active especially in the older sections of the capital. These undertakings will be dealt with in more detail in the following profiles. At this point, it should simply be noted that traditional lifestyles continue to prevail in Kabul itself; probably most women of the city spend the majority of their time in the seclusion of their compounds and enter the public sphere only in _chadri_.

On the other hand, many more non-traditional economic opportunities exist for women in the public sphere of Kabul as compared to other areas of Afghanistan, and the traditional concept of a clear sexual division of labor is undergoing alteration. Not subject to traditional patterns of female seclusion as their mothers were, an increasing number of women are finding employment outside of the home each year. One need only witness the mass exodus of female employees from many of the government ministries at the close of the work day to realize that change is occurring; definitely a much larger number of females are working in the public sphere than was the case a decade ago. This process is just beginning, however, and as the previous statistical profile has illustrated, women comprise only a small portion of the nation's labor force. But, in a society where their freedom to appear in public without _chadri_ has only existed since 1959, Afghan females have made some admirable gains.

All of these women are not members of the city's economic elite (although this sector of Kabul society is well-represented in the female work force), and many are from families of lower economic standing. With respect to any general classification, this group could be referred to as an educated elite in that the path to many types of female employment in the public sphere lies in formal schooling. Economic factors of course are involved here, however; in spite of the fact that formal education in

TABLE 32: WOMEN'S ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES* IN THE CAPITAL CITY OF KABUL

PUBLIC SPHERE ←------------	------------→ PRIVATE SPHERE
(R) = ranked government salary (see Page 37) ( ) = approximate montly salary in *afghanis* (US$1 = approximately 40 *afghanis*)	( ) = approximate remuneration (K) = usually paid in kind (wheat, rice, clarified butter, clothes, etc.)
Minister of Social Affairs	tailor (in home) (500-5,000) beautician (in home) (500-5,000)
judge (R) lawyer (R) engineer (R) architect (R)	carpet weaver embroiderer quilt maker (15-50 afs per quilt (K) cap maker (15-150 afs per cap) sheepskin coat maker pottery maker
dentist (R) or (7,000) dentist's assistant (R) physician (R) or (10,000) pharmacist (R) laboratory technician (R) X-ray technician (R) head nurse (R) nurse (R) *qabila* (goverment-trained and licensed nurse-midwife) (R) or (5,000) family guide (Afghan Family Guidance Association) (R)	teacher of Quran (to children) poet *dai* (traditional midwife) (50-350 afs per delivery) (K) injectionist (4 afs per shot) (K) herbalist (K) bone-setter (K) wet nurse (K) washer of the dead (K) fortune teller (10-100 afs per fortune) (K)
translator (R) or (15,000) journalist (R) author (3,000-10,000) poet (3,000-10,000) professor (Kabul University) (R) instructor (Teacher Training Institute) (R)	seller of eggs, vegetables, milk, etc. baker of cookies, cakes, bread, fried pastries, etc. candy maker

*economic activities: those for which either the family unit or the woman herself receives remuneration for either her services or the product she makes

PUBLIC SPHERE ← - - - - - - - - - - → PRIVATE SPHERE

PUBLIC SPHERE

librarian (R)
principal (R)
counsellor (R)
head teacher (R)
teacher (R)
substitute teacher (R)
[elementary and secondary]

economist (teacher) (R)
sociologist (teacher) (R)

Afghan (Democratic) Women's Organization:
- director (R)
- secretary to director (R)
- director of publications (R)
- social worker (R)
- typing teacher (R)
- kindergarten teacher (R)
- home economics teacher (R)
- tailoring/embroidery teacher (R)
- beauty school teacher (R)

director in ministry office (R)

accountant
secretary
teller
office worker
typist
clerk
[Afghan and foreign offices (banks, post offices, hotels, embassies, etc.) (R) or (1,500-15,000)]

telephone operator (R)
radio announcer (R)
television announcer (R)

stewardess (R)
police woman (R)

PRIVATE SPHERE

preparer of dried vegetables, spices, etc.

servant (in Afghan and foreign homes) (200-2000 afs per month) (K)
- cook
- cleaning woman
- laundress
- bread-baker
- babysitter

singer/dancer (at weddings, etc.) (100-1000 per party)

prostitute (1,000+)

PUBLIC SPHERE ← — —	— — — — → PRIVATE SPHERE
department store clerk (2-3,000)	
clerk in drycleaners (2-3,000)	
restaurant cashier (R)	
restaurant cook (500-1,000)	
beauty shop owner/operator (1-10,000)	
beautician (1,200)	
tailor shop owner/operator (1-10,000)	
tailor (700-2,000)	
handicraft shop owner/ operator (1-10,000)	
handicraft worker (500-1,000)	
popular singer/recorder (5,000-10,000+)	
actress (5,000-10,000+)	
factory worker (900-1,500)	
janitress (500-1,000)	
jail keeper (500)	
orphanage keeper (500)	
public bath keeper (1,000-1,500)	
washer of bath clients (500-1,000)	
<u>house-to-house traders</u>:	
<u>dalal</u> (trader in gold, material, etc./match-maker) (1,000-2,000)	
petty trader (Jugi or Jat ethnic group) (500-1,000)	
<u>street-vendors</u>:	
lottery ticket seller (300-1,000)	
yogurt seller (500-1,000)	
bracelet seller (500-1,000)	
belt seller (500-1,000)	



SEAL FOR THE NATIONAL CENSUS
(PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION)

PUBLIC SPHERE ←— — —	— — — → PRIVATE SPHERE
vaudeville singer/dancer (1,000+)	
beggar	

Afghanistan is free from primary school through the university, sending an individual to school for a number of years entails economic investment and sacrifice for a family. A study conducted among female high school students in Kabul by Sweetser (1976) provides some interesting insights and illustrates that these girls are certainly part of a privileged minority.

Reasons for women's non-traditional employment outside of their households vary considerably. Interestingly, a number of individuals have mentioned that their fathers' encouragement was most influential in causing them to pursue a career in the public sphere. These women are all working in the areas of health or education and possess a sincere desire to participate in their nation's development process. This is also a prime motivation of other Afghan females involved in various development programs---both those which are locally sponsored and those which are foreign-assisted. In addition to such altruistic inclinations, other women have a strong desire to express their independence and also to make use of their education. Others find the role of housewife somewhat boring, value their daily exposure to the public world, and enjoy their status as modern Afghan women. In addition, a financial interest is usually involved, and salaries obtained from economic activities supplement family budgets or provide women with personal spending money.

Crucial to these females' participation in employment outside of the household is the permission (or at least the unspoken tolerance) of the male members of their families--fathers, husbands, and/or brothers. In comparison to more conservative sectors of society, a somewhat different set of priorities seems to be held by both males and females of these units. Relatively secure against negative gossip concerning the actions of female family members which they consider to be legitimate (e.g., their appearance in public unveiled, formal schooling, employment in the public sphere, etc.) and not afraid of change, these risk-takers often consider the education of their family members--regardless of sex--as contributing to the status and honor of the unit, and ~~may~~ view subsequent employment in a similar light.

The specific type of employment a female undertakes is also of importance. As is the case in other Muslim societies (Papanek 1973; Youssef 1971), many non-traditional professions for women in Kabul involve interaction primarily with other females and thus entail a variation of seclusion in themselves. Examples of such occupations are those of medicine, nurse-midwifery, teaching, and employment with the Afghan (Democratic) Women's Organization. This is not totally the case with female employment in the public sphere, however. Positions able to be obtained by university graduates from a variety of faculties are considered respectable, and female employment in government ministries, banks, and other offices is also looked upon

similarly; all of these examples involve interaction with both sexes. Positions with embassies and foreign-assisted development projects are also desirable for some Afghan females; not only are salaries considerably higher than those in local institutions, but office relations between sexes are often thought to be congenial. Many women employed with these foreign agencies are greatly overqualified for the positions they fulfill. Those few women who work as clerks do so in Kabul's largest department store or in those located in the New City where clientele are considered proper. Unfortunately, nursing has not achieved the status that some other female professions enjoy; this is due in part to general hospital conditions, extremely heavy work loads, and the necessity in many cases to work night duty. Hopefully this will improve in the future.

Females who pursue these non-traditional occupations in Kabul are usually under the age of forty, with the majority probably in their twenties. Many are married, have children, and must balance their attention between home and work. Most often young children are left in the care of a relative such as a mother-in-law, mother, or perhaps sister. In other cases, family units employ servants who fulfill this function while the mother is at work. In addition, 11 kindergartens and two nurseries sponsored by the Afghan (Democratic) Women's Organization exist in the capital city. Preference is given to the offspring of working mothers, and these institutions have a present enrollment of approximately 2,500 children. Although a number of alternative child care facilities are present in Kabul--relative, servant, or kindergarten--this does constitute a problem for many working mothers, and dual careers are sometimes difficult for these women. Some respondents have recently noted that in comparison to other societies, it may be somewhat easier to obtain child care in Afghanistan, but lack of work-saving household appliances results in the necessity to spend more time in caring for the home.

Travel to and from place of work presents a problem for some females, and a number of government and foreign-aided offices furnish transportation for their female employees. The majority of working women usually utilize Kabul's public bus lines, however. Even in this context, sexual segregation of space exists; females use the front door of the vehicle and sit in the first few rows of seats in the bus.

Those women in the teaching profession work either in the morning or in the afternoon, and thus usually spend the noon meal at home. Other women may eat lunch in their offices or return home if time permits. Afghan females do not frequent public restaurants in great numbers, although sometimes a group of women may go to a Kabul teahouse if the establishment has a curtained room for women. In addition, they may appear on occasion at one of the restaurants of the large tourist hotels or at some of the

respectable restaurants in the New City. Recently the work day in many offices ends at 2:00 P.M., and thus any break for lunch is precluded.

At the close of the work day, shopping trips in the city's many bazaars are common. Tailor shops are visited frequently, and most women have a special tailor--male or female--whom they prefer. The used clothing bazaars are popular, as is the bazaar of the New City. Many shops in this section of the capital sell ready-made clothing. Interestingly, in recent months an evening dress made from the chadri has become quite popular. The netted facial area of the veil appears just below the neckline, and the billowing pleated material, which is considered by many as graceful, completes the garment.

Visiting between relatives and acquaintances abounds in Kabul, and although the homes of these working women contain special guestrooms, gatherings are not usually segregated by sex. Other female members of these women's families (such as an older mother, etc.) may be secluded and in such cases they remain in other sections of the home if strange non-kin males are included in the group. A similar situation exists for many weddings and other celebrations in Kabul which may be held in private homes or in one of the city's many hotels. Males and females usually mingle quite freely at such functions. In short, the daily activities of these women both at home and at work involve numerous interactions with males, and there is much less outward expression of female deference to males as compared with more conservative sectors of the populace.

It must also be stressed that Kabul women employed in non-traditional occupations in the public sphere may encounter a number of difficulties. General treatment of unveiled females on the streets of the capital city by some traditionally-oriented males is frequently insulting to the individual, and is one source of frustration. In addition, although most male co-workers are extremely supportive of their female counterparts, male/female relations in work settings sometimes leave much to be desired; this is especially common if the woman is in any type of an administrative position in which she directs the actions of men. Some are able to cope with such situations, but other female professionals in a variety of fields finally turn to teaching when their patience wears thin.

As Knabe (1974, 1977) has so aptly illustrated, modern Afghan women such as those described above do experience conflicts between the new and old aspects of their lifestyles, and many are impatient with the society's general orientation towards women. Change is occurring, however, and this small sector of the populace is a crucial component of the process.

2. WOMEN OF PROVINCIAL URBAN CENTERS

When speaking of provincial urban centers, I am referring to Afghan communities such as Kunduz, Mazar Sharif, and Maimana north of the Hindu Kush mountain range, Jalalabad, Ghazni, and Kandahar in the southern regions of the country, and Herat in the west (Map A). The population of these cities ranges from approximately 15,000 to 160,000, and each is a vital regional center in the domains of both government administration and commerce. Although a variety of ethnic groups are represented in all of these cities, Tadjik, Uzbek, and Turkman groups most commonly predominate in those of the northern and western regions while Pushtuns are prevalent in the southern centers.

In contrast with the situation of women in the capital city of Kabul, the female resident of these provincial urban centers finds herself in a more conservative setting and, in general, is more strongly affected by cultural norms of a traditional nature which regulate her behavior both inside the family compound and within the public sphere.

In conversations held with members of both sexes residing in these urban communities with respect to Afghan women and the development process, it was repeatedly mentioned that the local atmosphere for women's activities was more restricted than in the capital. When compared to the situation of village women, however, these provincial urban centers do offer females a much wider range of opportunities in education, health facilities, markets, employment, and social activities than those found in rural regions. These are cities in which are found educational institutions such as girls' elementary schools and girls' lycees, and in the larger centers Teacher Training Institutes also exist. In addition, hospitals, Mother and Child Health clinics, and Afghan Family Guidance Association clinics are present. Branches of the Afghan (Democratic) Women's Organization are functioning in each center, and women are participating in modern employment situations in the public sphere as doctors, nurses, government-licensed nurse-midwives, teachers, typists and clerks in banks or government offices, and factory workers (see Page 66).

Clearly the lifestyle of many women in these centers is undergoing change and, compared with the atmosphere of ten years ago, today an increasing number of females can be seen travelling bare-faced through the city streets; usually in _chadar_ (headscarf), they may be on their way to school, place of employment, mosque or cinema, visiting friends' or relatives' compounds, or on shopping trips to the bazaar. This embraces a small but brave minority of the female populace, however, and most women who do venture out of their compounds do so in the all-enveloping veil of _chadri_.

To better illustrate some of the cultural constraints which confront women in these cities, I will first describe the life-style representative of many Tadjik household units found in the northern provincial centers of Kunduz, Mazar Sharif, and Maimana, and also in the western city of Herat. The following profile does not apply specifically to the poorest sector of the urban community nor to the political or economic elite of the society; it rather is exemplary of conservative families which comprise a major portion of the population of Afghan provincial urban centers whose male household heads may be government employees, merchants, or teachers.

The physical arrangement of living space within a typical high-walled compound itself attests to the traditionally segregated nature of public and private domains of life in these urban communities. In many cases, an entranceway in the form of a small L-shaped wall immediately behind the compound's front door serves to deflect any casual gaze of unfamiliar pedestrians on the street. The front courtyard is often small, and little household activity is conducted in close proximity to the main entrance so near to the public world of the street. Closely adjacent is the house itself, the front room of which is usually a formal guest room. The doorway is covered by a curtain, and any visiting non-kin males can immediately be taken to this room before encountering any female member of the household who has passed puberty. In the presence of such visitors, women's activities can be undertaken in the yard behind the house structure or in a far corner of the compound where work area, outdoor cooking facilities, well, and storage rooms for food staples and fuel are all conveniently located.

The family unit may often be generationally extended in structure and embrace three generations of relatives; this is a common phenomenon in both urban and rural Afghanistan (see Page 12). When a son marries, the couple will often take up residence in his father's household and raise their children in this setting. In such situations, there may be a number of female adults, teenagers, and children in one compound which allows for allocation of household tasks, and also calls for supervision which is usually undertaken by the oldest women in the family. Presented in Table 33 is a skeletal outline of typical daily activities which are conducted by females in provincial urban center households during the spring or summer seasons.

Twenty-four-hour electrical power was installed in most of these cities approximately a decade ago, and many homes are equipped with basic appliances such as electrical coils, hot plates, radios, and tape recorders. Although electrical coils and hot plates do ease women's work load somewhat, cooking is done largely over an open fire which is said to produce better-tasting food. The presence of radios in households has increased

TABLE 33: TYPICAL DAILY ACTIVITIES OF FEMALES IN A PROVINCIAL URBAN CENTER HOUSEHOLD

1. <u>WIFE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</u> (45 years old, married when 13, mother of eight, no formal education)	2. <u>DAUGHTER-IN-LAW OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD (WIFE OF OLDEST SON)</u> (27 years old, married when [illegible] mother of five, studied until [illegible] grade)	3. <u>DAUGHTER OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</u> (16 years old, unmarried, studied until 7th grade, does tailoring)	4. <u>GRANDDAUGHTER OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD</u> (10 years old, presently in 4th grade)
6:00 first to rise, washes, prays, wakes husband and unmarried children, releases chickens, collects eggs, prepares tea with electric coil, fries eggs, fetches bread from storage room	6:00 first to rise, washes, prays 6:15 wakes husband and children, washes children, lays out school clothes, assembles cushions and quilts of her nuclear unit	6:15 awakens, washes, assembles cushions and quilts of parents and unmarried siblings	6:15 awakens, washes, dresses in school uniform, irons <u>chadar</u> (headscarf), plays with younger siblings ↓
6:30 listens to radio (news, funeral announcements, etc.)	6:30 sweeps rugs in her section of household	6:30 listens to radio (music, etc.) ↓	
7:00 BREAKFAST	7:00 BREAKFAST	7:00 BREAKFAST	7:00 BREAKFAST
7:30 assembles breakfast dishes, etc., tells husband what she needs from the bazaar	7:30 draws water from well, heats water on wood fire, washes breakfast dishes and those from previous evening's meal	↓	↓

1	2	3	4
			12:00 arrives home from school, changes clothes
12:30 LUNCH	12:30 LUNCH	12:30 LUNCH	12:30 LUNCH
		1:00 sews dress for morning guest on hand-cranked sewing machine from Japan	
1:15 prays, sleeps	1:15 prays		1:15 draws water well for mother
	1:30 assembles and washes lunch dishes		1:30 plays with/ cares for younger brother and sister
2:00 another female guest arrives, prepares tea, candy, and cookies for her			
	2:30 prepares dough for bread, makes ten round flat loaves		
			2:45 goes to bazaar to buy thread for aunt
	3:00 prepares fire in <u>tandur</u> oven for <u>bread-baking</u>		
	3:15 bakes bread		

1	2	3	4
3:30 guest leaves, straightens storage room			3:30 cleans rice for evening meal plays in compound or in street
	4:00 begins dinner preparation, soaks rice, starts fire in cooking area, fries onions, cleans and cooks meat, puts rice on fire to cook	4:00 sweeps front half of compound yard	
4:30 finishes vegetable pre-paration or any similar task begun in morning		4:30 not bothering to dress up, goes to bazaar in _chadri_ to buy shoes to wear to coming wedding of a friend	
5:00 shoos chickens into coop	5:00 sweeps back half of compound yard, collects dried clothes from line		
5:30 washes, prays 5:45 takes care of grandchildren	5:45 washes, prays 6:00 checks on cooking pot, steams rice	6:00 returns from bazaar, sweeps rooms of household	
	7:00 washes, changes clothes, washes children, prays	7:00 begins sewing again	
7:30 MEN RETURN HOME			
8:00 DINNER	8:00 DINNER	8:00 DINNER	8:00 DINNER

to note that a female face and profile have been included at the base of the drawing.

When I discussed the coming census and the subject of Afghan women in development in March with Dr. Wijadani, Director of Civil Registration in the Ministry of the Interior, he stressed that this census presents an excellent opportunity to more adequately measure the elusive subject of women's participation in the national economy, especially that of rural women involved in agricultural activities, in addition to gathering more detailed vital statistics. The present civil registration system in Afghanistan requires that any individual who desires to attend school, obtain officially recognized employment, travel on the Haj (pilgrimage) to Mecca, etc., must obtain a taskira (official registration card) from the government. Ideally, upon the birth of a child the birth should be registered with local government officials and a taskira should be obtained. Needless to say, in many regions of Afghanistan this is not the case, especially for the female sector of the populace; for example, in the province of Wardak, a region approximately 60 miles south of the capital of Kabul, the percent of females (N=1,081) registered in relation to the total number of male registrations (N=177,354) in the province is only 0.61. Dr. Wijadani noted that if a birth was not reported to the government within a year a fine of 100 afghanis (approximately $2.50; 40 afghanis=US$1) is incurred; he was optimistic that year by year more females will obtain taskiras and that as a consequence, due to their increasing participation in both formal education and public sphere employment, all females will also be officially registered. Such present limitations in the country's civil registration system, however, clearly indicate the need for the coming national census.

A. BASIC POPULATION PARAMETERS:

Occupying an area of approximately 260,000 square miles, landlocked Afghanistan shares common borders with Pakistan, Iran, the U.S.S.R., and China. Its population is composed of a variety of ethnic groups, the largest of which are Pushtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkman, and Baluch. As can be seen from Map A on page 6, the mountains of the Hindu Kush extend through the central region of the country; these are generally bordered by plains in the north and desert in the south. Population density ranges from sparsely inhabited massive stretches of mountains and deserts to more densely settled regions of intensive agriculture and urban centers;

1	2	3	4
8:45 supervises dinner clean-up	8:45 takes dinner dishes to outside storage room	8:45 helps to clean up eating area	8:45 does home-work
9:00 listens to radio, talks	9:00 lays out cushions, quilts for nuclear unit, mends and irons husband's and children's clothing	9:00 listens to radio	
			9:30 falls asleep listening to radio
9:45 prays	9:45 prays	9:45 lays out cushions, quilts of parents and siblings	
10:00 sleeps	10:00 sleeps	10:00 sleeps	

in recent years, which has greatly fostered communications between urban provincial center and the nation's capital. Radio-listening is a favored pastime of many women, especially in the mornings. A recent study of Afghan Family Guidance Association clients and non-clients in provincial centers found that more than 70 percent of their women respondents (N = 1,955) listen to the radio daily (Kerr, et al. 1975). Especially appreciated are musical programs, dramas, and funeral announcements, although news broadcasts and those concerning Family Life (sponsored by the Women's Coordinating Committee which prior to the revolution was in the Ministry of Information and Culture but is presently part of the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization) also find listeners. The radio indeed serves as valued entertainment in a woman's busy work day.

Female household activities vary according to age and status of the individual family member with usually the young married women performing a major portion of the tasks. In the example provided here, the young wife is occupied from morning to night, and she works with almost religious dedication. Mother-in-law and sister-in-law serve as alternate caretakers of her children throughout the day. Women in nuclear family units (those composed of husband, wife, and children) are not so fortunate and often have a heavier workload, as also do their daughters. Some families may have female servants who come to the compound every few days to bake bread, clean, or wash clothes. These women are from poor families of the community; they are usually paid 100 to 200 afghanis per month, are furnished with meals, and may be given surplus food or old articles of clothing to take home.

After male household members leave the household for place of employment or school, the compound becomes a very private domain of females. The routine of these urban women, who usually wear loose-fitting dresses, white pajama-like tambans trimmed with lace, and headscarves, is often interrupted during the day by visiting females who arrive from other compounds; local gossip is exchanged over tea. Usually the oldest woman serves as hostess, and family members who are embarrassed by their work clothes may not even appear before the visitor. If the guest is a close friend or relative, however, household tasks may be continued in the guest's presence and the atmosphere is extremely casual. Extensive visiting networks exist between women, usually among those of similar ethnic group and socio-economic standing.

A female's degree of mobility in these provincial urban enters depends basically upon what her close male kinsmen will llow. Other factors which are also related are age of the emale, marital status, economic status of the family unit, the umerous household tasks which must be completed daily, and also er own religious orientation as to what actions are fitting for "proper" Muslim woman. The freedom of movement of many young irls is restricted upon reaching puberty and, if they are in

school, they may be withdrawn. Following marriage, some females must spend all their time inside their husbands' compounds and are allowed to make only infrequent visits every few months to their parents' homes. Their ultra-conservative male kinsmen believe that correct female behavior precludes any other travel. Others are allowed to leave their compounds only in the accompaniment of close male relatives, or must ask specific permission for each circumstance involving movement from the household. Although a woman's status within a family does increase with age, older women are generally more conservative and, even if they do achieve freedom of mobility, many are habitual homebodies. While poorer women often are compelled to leave their compounds to help to support their families, both male and female members of more economically secure units may perceive seclusion of women, which does entail a degree of economic investment, as a symbol of status.

In spite of these factors, hoewever, it seems that the majority of women from conservative families in these cities do have general permission and also desire to leave their households on occasion--in chadri--for reasons which are perceived as legitimate by both sexes; when women can fit such activities into their busy daily work schedules, acceptable reasons for emerging from their compounds include travel to any of the following:

1. a mosque or shrine
2. the public baths (only women are present)
3. the women's hospital or clinic (especially if the staff is female)
4. engagement parties, weddings, funerals, or other ritual events (guests are segregated by sex)
5. compounds of relatives, close friends, or neighbors (usually if family known by male members of the household)
6. the sauna--an afternoon vaudeville show (all-female audience)

The above destinations or events are generally considered "safe" by most families either due to their religious nature, because the female will be largely in contact with only women, or because they are "known entities." They are all legitimate female domains--settings in which an immense amount of communication occurs and where future daughters-in-law are also frequently sought.

In some provincial urban centers, one day of the week is designated as Women's Day at the large city mosque, and females are provided with an especially legitimate reason to leave their compounds. For example, in Mazar Sharif, the name itself which translates as "holy shrine," Wednesday is Women's Day and the huge central mosque which is believed to be the grave of Ali (son-in-law of Mohammad) becomes strictly a female domain. Off-limits to

men on Wednesdays, women and children begin to assemble at the mosque early in the morning and by 10:00 at least 3,000 individuals of all ages are present in the surrounding courtyard. The majority of these women arrive in _chadri_ and throw back the veils from their faces as soon as they enter; only here and there does one see a woman without the garment. All complete the visit to the grave of Ali, which is covered with gold and ornate cloth inside the mosque proper, pray, and then return to the spacious marble courtyard to sit in the sun and talk with friends. Both women and children are dressed in their best, and many females show off jewelry of gold coins along with faces of heavy make-up.

In one corner of the mosque courtyard, a small microphone set up by the local branch of the Afghan Women's Organization (now known as the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization) broadcasts a program covering such subjects as childrearing and the coming national census. Skits and speeches are presented by the organization members, and a chorus from the local branch kindergarten sings a few patriotic songs. Although some women listen to the program with interest, most are more concerned with visiting with acquaintances or strolling around the courtyard.

The prevailing atmosphere is one of a picnic. At noon the women can go into the mosque garden to purchase boiled potatoes or sour chickpeas for lunch, while others may travel to the nearby bazaar's teashops where special rooms for females have been allotted. Here they can obtain tea, _kebab_, and bread in seclusion and chat with friends.

Following lunch many women must return to their compounds, but others may go immediately to the _sauna_, or vaudeville show, which begins at 1:00 and is located only a few streets from the city mosque. On Women's Day, the audience is restricted to women and children. Approximately 1,000 women pay the 10 _afghani_ entrance fee, sit on wooden benches in the large mud-walled structure with _chadris_ thrown back, and enjoy an afternoon of entertainment. The program consists of songs, dances, and risque skits performed by a troupe of men and women of questionable reputation but considerable talent from Kabul who are accompanied by a group of musicians. At intermissions, the curtain is drawn, and the audience can purchase tea, Coca Cola, or water from vendors who make their way through the narrow aisles. The show is thoroughly enjoyed by the women and finally concludes at 4:30--in time for the women to return to their households to begin dinner preparation.

Daily housework must be completed by the time that the males return in the evening and, especially if the woman has spent the day at the mosque and _sauna_, there is a flurry of activity within the compound just before their expected arrival. Before dinner, the female family members prepare platters of food (rice, fried

vegetables, or perhaps soup) near the outdoor cooking area, and dish up larger portions of choice foods such as meat or vegetables for the males. More pronounced in family units with scarce resources, situations of differential nutrition on the basis of sex do exist; the bread-winners are seen to be entitled to the more valued foods, and this often results in a poorer diet for the females. The evening meal is usually consumed from two separate platters, males in one corner of the room and females in the other, as the family discusses the events of the day. Male family members are often quite interested in what the females of the household have learned from their Women's Day excursions and subsequent conversations with mutual acquaintances; having spent the day involved in legitimate female activity, these women have gleaned a considerable amount of fresh gossip from their many contact, some of which they relate at dinner.

The institution of Women's Day serves as a much-needed release for many women from the pressures of housekeeping and seclusion. A not infrequent phenomenon among Afghan women of these provincial centers, especially among "new brides" in their first decade of marriage who are often heavily secluded, is a form of spirit possession. When tension builds within the compound due to family quarrels, when housework and childcare become intense, or when simply the pressures of seclusion become extreme, a woman may experience a violent seizure which is attributed to spirits. Freed and Freed (1967) have noted this occurrence among individuals in somewhat similar situations in Northern India, and aptly note that such attacks often raise the status of the young woman who is frequently lowest in pecking order within her household. She becomes someone special, someone with a specific power, and finds psychological release in her seizures. Following these occurrences these individuals are often taken to mosques or shrines by male relatives, and thus they are able to leave their compounds for a short period of time. If they are allowed to participate, a weekly outing like Women's Day can be of definite therapeutic value for these women.

In spite of strict patterns of seclusion which affect many women in these cities, the female sector of the populace is certainly not economically inactive behind their compound walls. Table 34 contains a list of women's economic activities I have found to exist in Afghanistan's provincial urban centers which can be generally dichotomized into those which transpire in either the public or private sphere. Economic activities included here are those for which either the family unit or the woman herself receive remuneration for either her services or the product she makes. This list should be compared to that assembled for women in the capital city of Kabul (Page 66), which contains many more female economic activities conducted in the public sphere than exist in provincial urban centers. Ranked salary scales which exist for government employees are the same in these provincial

cities; income from other activities is somewhat less than what can be obtained in the capital, however, and more often payment is made in kind. I will first deal with activities of the private domain and then discuss those of the public realm.

Some enterprising females are tailors or beauticians and have established viable small businesses in their homes where they cater to female clientele of the city. Their compound walls display small signs advertising their services, and sometimes monthly incomes of 1,000-2,000 afghanis can be obtained, especially if weddings are frequent. Business is quite erratic, however, and some months few customers arrive.

Handicrafts are undertaken by many secluded women; these include rug weaving, silk weaving (which entails the raising of silkworms), embroidery work, cap making, and a wide variety of other activities many of which exhibit regional specialization. Home-based activities such as these can easily be turned to during a woman's busy workday when she has spare time. Rug weaving is largely in the hands of Turkman ethnic groups in the northern and western regions of the country, but women of other ethnic affiliations also participate. In some compounds, small schools are set up where young girls assemble to learn the much-desired skill from an older woman. Females who know how to weave rugs are considered to have great potential for marriage, and are highly valued. The marketing of large finished products such as rugs is in the hands of male family members, but in some cases women themselves will market their embroidery work, caps, and other smaller products in the local bazaar; they travel from their compounds in chadri. Usually contacts are made with male shopkeepers, but some extremely poor women may sit on the roadside in chadri and sell the caps or belts they have made, however. Income received from handicrafts varies greatly. Rugs differ in quality, are usually sold for 10,000-75,000 afghanis, and may take months to complete; on the other end of the continuum, embroidered hats fetch 10-150 afghanis on the market and some may be completed in a day. In general, income obtained from such activity is not kept by the woman herself but rather is added to the family budget. She may have considerable influence as to how it

PUBLIC SPHERE ← — —	— — — — → PRIVATE SPHERE
<u>house-to-house traders</u>: <u>dalal</u> (trader in gold, material, etc./match-maker petty trader (Jugi or Jat ethnic group) <u>street vendors</u>: yogurt seller cap seller bracelet seller belt seller vaudeville singer/dancer beggar	servant (in home) cook cleaning woman laundress bread-baker babysitter singer/dancer (at weddings, etc.) prostitute

A variety of foodstuffs are also prepared by women within their homes and later sold in the bazaar. Some women make bread or fried pastries and send their sons to sell them for a few afghanis on the busy city streets. Cookies, cakes, and candies may be taken to the local bakery shop where they will find buyers. Pickled and dried vegetables, spices, and fruit jams may either be taken to the bazaar or purchased directly by other females who know of their quality. This economic activity varies with the seasonal availability of substances used; during holiday periods, women are extremely busy with the preparation of special foodstuffs.

Female indigenous health practitioners such as dais (traditional midwives), herbalists, and bone-setters serve an urban female clientele who may be reticent to visit modern medical practitioners, or may be unable to do so because of prohibitive prices or lack of male family members' permission. Extremely active are the dais, who may receive 50-300 afghanis for delivering a baby, along with some flour, clarified butter, or perhaps some old clothes in addition to cash payment. These skilled women are often highly respected members of their communities.

In the public domain of these provincial urban centers, there does not exist an overabundance of female economic opportunities, but there are certainly more women entering this male-dominated sphere every year. On one end of the continuum are those women from households low in economic standing who are often compelled to leave their compounds and work as factory laborers, street vendors, or even beggars. In contrast to these individuals is a growing group of educated females who choose to work in the public sphere as physicians, nurses, teachers, members of the Afghan Women's Organization (now known as the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization), office personnel, etc.

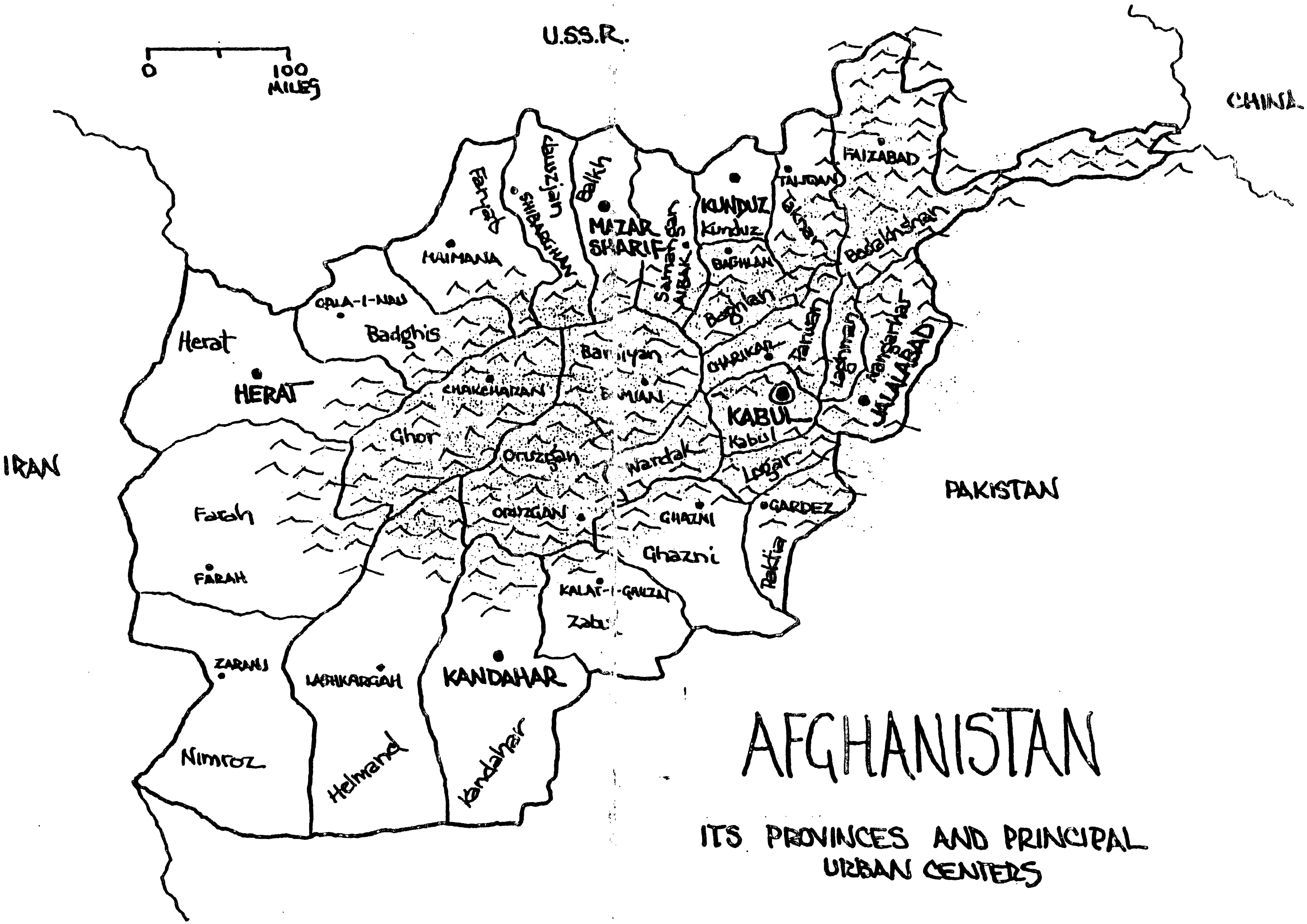
A crucial factor in the active economic participation of these women is education. In all of Afghanistan's provincial urban centers, girls' elementary schools and girls' lycees exist, and in the larger cities, Teacher Training Institutes are also found. The enrollment of females in these educational institutions is growing, but with respect to the total population of school-age females in these cities, only a small minority of girls succeed in gaining a twelfth-grade education.

A number of girls in provincial urban centers are allowed to attend school until they reach puberty but are then quickly withdrawn, usually by their fathers and older brothers. Reasons for this are complex and vary from family to family. Perhaps of greatest influence is the religious belief that mature Muslim females should not be seen in the public realm. It is thought that the daily movement through the city streets to and from school can lead to low morals--boys can easily follow groups of laughing schoolgirls, form friendships, and thus blemish the

family's honor. Another factor is the degree of value placed in education itself. Girls' parents, who are frequently without formal schooling themselves, often find little worth in further study; their daughters can read and write and that is thought to be sufficient. Additional schooling is looked upon as a time-consuming social activity. Hours spent in the classroom and in completing homework decrease the time that the female can spend helping her mother with household tasks, and further education is often thought to result in an individual who is disrespectful to the wishes of her elders. Often there is reason to withdraw because the girl's mother has given birth to a new baby or due to the woman's poor state of health caused by repeated pregnancies. In some cases, the girl is scheduled to be married, an event which precludes further attendance at a public school. Also crucial is the economic payoff received after years of investment in education. In addition to the fact that employment opportunities for educated females in these provincial centers are limited, many males do not want their female family members working in the public sphere. These are some of the major factors which negatively influence female participation in formal education in these communities, and subsequently limit their full participation in the public economic sphere.

Some females, however, do succeed in obtaining a high school diploma and work in government offices or with the local Afghan (Democratic) Women's Organization. Others continue their education at local Teacher Training Institutes or succeed in being admitted to Kabul University in the capital city. There they reside in the women's dormitory facilities for provincial females, and upon graduation they return to their home communities to work as professionals. These are individuals from families who recognize the value of education for females and who are psychologically secure enough not to fear community criticism from conservative sectors. Indeed, both the female herself and her male relatives are risk-takers who are actively involved in bringing change to their provincial urban centers.

MAP A



AFGHANISTAN

ITS PROVINCES AND PRINCIPAL URBAN CENTERS

(After Dupree and Albert 1974)

3. VILLAGE WOMEN

Approximately 85 percent of Afghanistan's population live in rural areas. Scattered throughout the country in more than 20,000 different villages, this includes representatives of all of the nation's numerous ethnic groups. Women's activities in these many village settings are extremely kaleidoscopic; lifestyles differ not only according to ethnic group but also by region, depending upon specific agricultural activities undertaken by the local community, by patterns of land ownership, and also according to the type of contacts the village itself has with the outside world.

My first profile of rural women's activities deals with the village of Shatu, a small settlement of approximately 100 inhabitants in the Hazarajat, the isolated central mountain region of Afghanistan, some 60 miles west of the provincial capital of Bamiyan. Composed of seventeen households, ten of which are closely related kinsmen, Shatu is a conglomerate of small mud homes which from a distance appears to be a singular fort-like structure. All of the residents are Hazara, an ethnic group which is believed to be of Mongol origin, who are of the Shia sect of Islam.

In the narrow mountain valley all of the households are engaged in subsistence agriculture, raising a variety of crops such as barley, wheat, corn, and some alfalfa. The village is surrounded by irrigated fields of barley and wheat, and on the higher mountain slopes near the community non-irrigated corn is found. Plots of land, which are individually owned, are extremely small and average about two acres in size. Most families own a few fat-tailed sheep and goats, and some also possess a cow and a few chickens.

Shatu presents an interesting case of local leadership in the hands of a female. The _arbab_ is a respected woman of approximately 55 years of age whose husband is employed in the town of Yakaulang thirty kilometers to the north of the village. She is assisted in her work by her four brothers, but seems to assume full responsibility in final decision-making concerning village-related matters. After her father passed away some years ago who had been the previous _arbab_, the siblings decided that the woman was best capable to serve in this position as local arbiter and spokesman to the government. Although in Hazara culture women are allotted somewhat higher status than among some of Afghanistan's other ethnic groups, this woman's leadership position must be considered an exception; in all of the surrounding villages, males fulfill the role of _arbab_.

The activities described below are those undertaken by the community during the summer which is a season of intense work for

the villagers. The Hazarajat experiences severe winters with heavy snowfall which isolates the region for five months of the year, and thus the most must be made of the brief summer season.

A village home is a small one-room structure of thick mud walls with one or two small windows near the ceiling to let in light and fresh air; such construction furnishes protection in the harsh winter, but upon the arrival of warmer weather, the family spends little time inside this dark dwelling. The roof contains a smoke hole situated directly over the home's firepit and tandur oven for bread-baking. Furnishings are extremely sparse, usually containing cushions and thin quilts which are stored in a corner by day, a flat-woven rug on the ground floor, tea pot, and a few aluminum pots and utensils for cooking. No electricity exists for miles around, and thus some families also have lanterns. A storage bin built directly into the wall of the room holds the family's supply of wheat, and on the roof of the dwelling are bins for corn storage along with piles of dung cakes and brush which are used as fuel. There appears to be little differentiation between households as far as economic standing is concerned, although the arbab's dwelling contains a small anti-room which serves as a guestroom.

The women of this village are not secluded in their dwellings, none possess a chadri, and they have free reign of their small community. Granted, the majority of the local populace are close kinsmen and strange males only on occasion appear on the scene. In such instances, the younger women will perhaps pull their red headscarves over their faces or retreat into their dwellings, but this does not seem to be obligatory. Female garb includes a loose-fitting longsleeved dress of red cotton, quilted vest, flowered pajama-like tambans, pillbox hat, and a long chadar (headscarf) in red for young women and in navy or black for older individuals. Hair is worn in braids with bangs pinned back with numerous bobby pins of various colors.

The community is up at dawn; the village woman collects dung cakes and brush from where they are stored on the rooftop of her home, tosses the fuel down the dwelling's smoke hole into the room below, and then proceeds to brew tea in the firepit. After a quick breakfast of tea and perhaps some cornbread, her husband travels to the nearby field to work and she begins the morning tasks. First assembling the sleeping quilts and mattresses, consoling crying children, rinsing out teacups, and sweeping the house, she then begins her dairy work. The family cow, sheep, and goats are milked and sent out to pasture with a young son or daughter; usually children from a few households combine their flocks and travel out from the village together.

The milk the woman has collected is boiled in an aluminum pot over the firepit, a small amount of yogurt is added when the

milk is slightly cooled, and the pot is set aside to form more of the product. The woman then pours the previous day's supply of yogurt into a goat-skin bag, takes this outside into the sun, and shakes it back and forth on the ground. Usually neighboring females are in front of their dwellings involved in similar tasks, and conversation is exchanged. The churning process, which is quite time-consuming, yields both clarified butter and dogh (buttermilk). All of these dairy products are used for home consumption in Shatu, but in other villages surplus is often sold.

Following this the woman then goes to fetch water from a central faucet in the village which the government installed a few years ago; a pipeline taps a nearby mountain stream and carries the water into the community. This is considered by the women as an improvement over the previous method of carrying water from a fast-running stream on the other side of the dirt road which passes by the village. The family's water supply is stored in an earthenware jug in one corner of the room.

On some days, clothes are washed in the nearby stream which is an activity which usually takes the better part of the morning. Women may take their toddlers along with them or leave them in the care of an older daughter. They usually arrange to undertake this work in groups of two or three; thus they can carry on a conversation as they work and enjoy the time spent at the task. Following washing, the clothes are spread on the grass to dry for the rest of the day.

Fuel for winter

The woman often takes a large bag made of old cloth and walks through the pastures near the village collecting dung, and her children assist her. Young boys travel further from the settlement and similarly gather brush. Upon returning to her home, the dung is mixed with water and straw and the woman forms large cakes of the substance which are plastered on the outside wall of the dwelling to dry in the sun. When completed, the dung cakes are stored on the roof. This activity is carried on throughout the summer season, and thus necessary fuel for the long winter is slowly accumulated.

While collecting dung, or else on a separate excursion from the village, the woman often gathers a handful of spinach-like greens which grow wild in the valley. These she cooks in clarified butter for the family's lunch or otherwise saves them for dinner. Lunch may be sent to her husband working in the fields in the hands of a child, or she may take it to him herself. Some days their lunch menu is simply some yogurt and bread, and if supplies are low, the family skips the meal altogether. On days when she visits her husband in the fields, the woman usually remains with him for the afternoon, weeds their plot of land, and returns to the village at dusk.

Bread-baking is a task undertaken by women every other day,

usually in the afternoons. The villagers of Shatu consume mostly cornbread, but on occasion wheat bread is also prepared. The staple is made in a small tandur oven dug into the floor of the dwelling near the firepit.

Females of the village spend much of their time involved in a variety of handicrafts especially in the afternoons, although if possible, these will also be undertaken between other tasks in the mornings. Most typical is the carding and spinning of sheep's wool which is stored in burlap bags in corners of their homes. First it is necessary to clean and fluff the matted raw wool after shearing, and this is accomplished by pulling the substance over an upright board into which six or seven large double-pointed nails have been drive. Following this process, the fluffy wool is hand-spun; the wool is wrapped around the woman's left arm and slowly spun onto a small wooden spindle which dangles from her hand. All females of the village, young and old, participate in this activity. It is a craft which does not restrict their mobility, and can be continued while visiting other households or while walking to nearby villages.

Some of the spun wool is sold in the Yakaulang bazaar, usually by the male villagers when they travel there every few weeks, but most of it is utilized by the women in the weaving of barak, a thick woolen fabric in which Hazaras specialize. Long horizontal looms are set up on the ground near the village and women weave the cloth, sitting upon the finished fabric as they proceed. The finished product is sold to shopkeepers in the provincial capital of Bamiyan for 50 afghanis a meter, and some is retained to make men's and boys' winter coats. Family tailoring is done by most women and also one man in the community; one of the households possesses a hand-powered Indian sewing machine which other families occasionally borrow. Similar to barak but from a finer grade of wool, plaid and plain-colored blankets of excellent quality are also woven. Utilizing commercial dyes of orange and pink, donkey bags in a variety of striped and diamond patterns are made by some women. Not made in Shatu but common to other Hazara villages are gelims, small flat-weave woolen rugs which are woven on horizontal looms mostly in striped designs; also produced are embroidered hats, felt rugs, and some pottery. All of these articles are sold to shopkeepers in Bamiyan or other centers most often by males, and many finally find their way into Kabul bazaars.

The knitting of gloves, stockings, and sweaters is undertaken by women not only for family use but also for sale. Thin wool yarn of black, brown, and white is commonly used which is knit in intricate patterns. A travelling buyer frequents the village every few months, purchases the finished products, and sells to shopkeepers in Kabul with a mark-up in price. Stockings such as these sell for 40 afghanis on the streets of the capital city. These are also popular export products, and some of the same

Hazara stockings were sold for US $15 in Marshall Fields in Chicago last Christmas season. The village woman herself receives 30 afghanis. Money received for all of her handicraft activity usually goes into the family subsistence budget.

Women usually sit in the late afternoon sun and undertake this craftwork in small groups while they carry on extensive conversation and take breaks during which they pick lice out of one another's hair. Soon it is time to begin dinner preparation, and the groups disband, each woman going to her respective rooftop to toss dung cakes and brush down the smoke hole for the evening fire.

At this point, the children return to the community with the livestock which the village woman frequently milks again. At dusk, her husband returns from the fields and may sit on the rooftop with his male kinsmen discussing the state of their crops, the events of the day, or the recent arrival of the Kuchies (nomads) to whom the Hazaras are in debt, while the woman cooks in the small smoke-filled room below. The summer diet of the Hazaras is largely composed of dairy products, bread, and tea; although eggs are frequently fried for the evening meal and wild greens may also be cooked in clarified butter. Potatoes, baqali (legumes), and mushung (peas) are also consumed every once in a while. All families keep a large supply of dried mulberries on hand which are also consumed in the summer, although this is more commonly a winter staple. Mulberries are purchased in Yakaulang; in other villages where the trees are found, the women are involved in the drying of this nutritious fruit. Rice is very rarely consumed, and meat is only eaten on holidays, perhaps at weddings, or when an occasional animal in the village dies.

With darkness the village sleeps, although some individuals--both men and women--may gather in one household and converse until the fire dies out.

The winter activities in a village of the Hazarajat are much different from the flurry of work conducted during the summer. Each community becomes snowbound for long periods of time, and families spend their days and nights within their thick-walled dwellings. Livestock is brought into the rooms to protect them from the cold, and their presence also provides warmth to the human residents. Most households have sandalis (quilt-covered wooden frames under which a slow-burning dung cake fire is built) under which family members sit, and some rooms have a system of underground heating-tunnels which crisscross beneath the floor and transport heat from a brush fire built on the side of the dwelling.

During the winter men are responsible for feeding and watering the livestock, airing them, and cleaning snow off the roofs of the houses. Women's housecleaning tasks are multiplied

with the presence of the animals; their time is also spent in handicrafts--especially knitting--and visiting as the village waits for the spring thaw.

Some communities of the region are composed of land-owning Saids, who are Hazaras believed to be the descendants of Mohammad, and their Hazara hired laborers; the laborer families are provided with shelter, food, and occasionally old clothing by the Saids. In these patron/client situations, women of the Said households are assisted in many of their household tasks by the female Hazaras throughout the year.

Due to a growing population and subsequent land shortage, many inhabitants from the Hazarajat have migrated to the capital city of Kabul, other Afghan urban centers, and also to Iran or the Gulf States. The majority of migrants are males who, if they are heads of household, leave their families in the care of a brother or other male kinsman, and travel to work as laborers in the cities. Until recently this movement was largely seasonal, and many returned to their home villages during the summers to help with agricultural activities. In recent years, an increasing number have left Afghanistan, however, and a serious shortage of male labor has been experienced in many a village; in some cases government troops have been called upon to assist with the harvesting of crops.

Entire family units also move to Kabul and settle in the Hazara sectors of Chindawul, Jamal Mina, or on the sides of mountain slopes which surround the city. Although working as hired laborers continues to be a major activity of the males of this ethnic group, many individuals have become successful businessmen, especially in the used furniture trade. Often the female members of these Hazara families work as servants for other Kabul residents and receive from 100 to 1,000 <u>afghanis</u> per month for their services. In spite of their urban residence these families maintain close ties with home villages; portions of income are sent to the rural communities, wheat and dairy products are received, and travel is frequent between urban and rural regions.

* * *

A recent survey of village women conducted by CARE-MEDICO and Development Alternatives, Inc., a USAID contract team, furnishes valuable information concerning the daily activities of rural females in the Mohammad Agha district of Logar province (CARE-MEDICO 1977; Development Alternatives, Inc. 1976; B. Shah, personal communication, 1977). Ninety-two Pushtun and Tadjik women from a series of villages approximately forty kilometers south of Kabul were interviewed under the direction of Mrs. Belquees Shah; in these interviews a variety of topics were covered, some of which will be mentioned here.

This is an agricultural region in which wheat is the major crop, farm size averages less than five acres, and annual family income is approximately US $400. Almost half of the women mentioned that cooking activities kept them most busy every day; other household tasks along with farm work and care of livestock were also seen to take up large portions of their time. Approximately 24 percent of the respondents interviewed do assist with farm work, mostly in the activities of weeding and harvesting. Reasons for not assisting in this work are as follows:

	N	%
lack of husband's permission/not village custom	24	36
lack of land ownership	16	24
already have enough work at home	10	15
illness	8	12
not necessary/have servant	7	11
presently nursing	1	2
	66	100

In addition to food preparation, the preservation and storage of foodstuffs occupies much of these females' time. A wide variety of vegetables are either dried for winter consumption or buried in the ground. In addition, kandu (large containers of sun-dried mud) are made by the women; these are assorted in size and may be whitewashed or incised with various designs when completed. In these containers the village women store wheat, corn, flour, legumes, and also dried mulberries.

Only four women of this sample participate in other activities which contribute to their household's income; three are tailors and one raises chickens. A variety of embroidery work is undertaken by the women, however, mostly for home use.

The mobility of these females varies greatly; 62 percent stated that they left their compounds whenever necessary, while 12 percent specified that they went out once a week, 6 percent once a month, and 9 percent once a year. Four women replied that they never left their homes. In addition to fetching water and undertaking agricultural work, relatives were often visited and weddings or funerals were frequently attended.

Only one of these respondents is literate, and only seven girls from all of the households attend or had attended school. When asked why their daughters were not in school, 28 women replied that family disapproval, especially on the part of the girl's father, was the major factor while 30 mentioned that there was no school nearby. Four women stated that they had daughters with ninth grade education or more who would like to work outside the home, all in the field of education. Eighty-four women,

however, replied that if they had daughters with such qualifications, they would not permit her to undertake work in the public sphere.

* * *

Additional information concerning the lives of village women in Afghanistan is available in a detailed report prepared by CINAM, a French contract team with UNICEF, which conducted fieldwork in the northern communities of Ri Jang in Balkh province and Sansiz in the province of Jawzjan (CINAM 1973). An excellent film dealing with Afghan Women also exists in the American University Field Staff (AUFS) film series, "Faces of Change." This has been prepared by Nancy and Louis Dupree and concerns the lifestyles of women in the northern village of Aq Kupruk.

4. NOMADIC WOMEN

The nomadic population of Afghanistan is estimated to be approximately 1.5 million, or 10.7 percent of the nation's population (World Bank 1978). This is largely composed of Pushtun, Baluch, Uzbek, Turkman, and Kirghiz ethnic groups who follow a variety of migratory routes throughout the country, generally spending their winters in the lowlands and travelling into mountain pastures of the Hindu Kush ranges during the warm summer months (Map B, Page 78). Pushtun groups are widely dispersed, Baluch are found in southern areas, and Uzbek, Turkman, and Kirghiz inhabit the northern regions. These pastorialists are generally referred to as Kuchies (kotch kardan = to move).

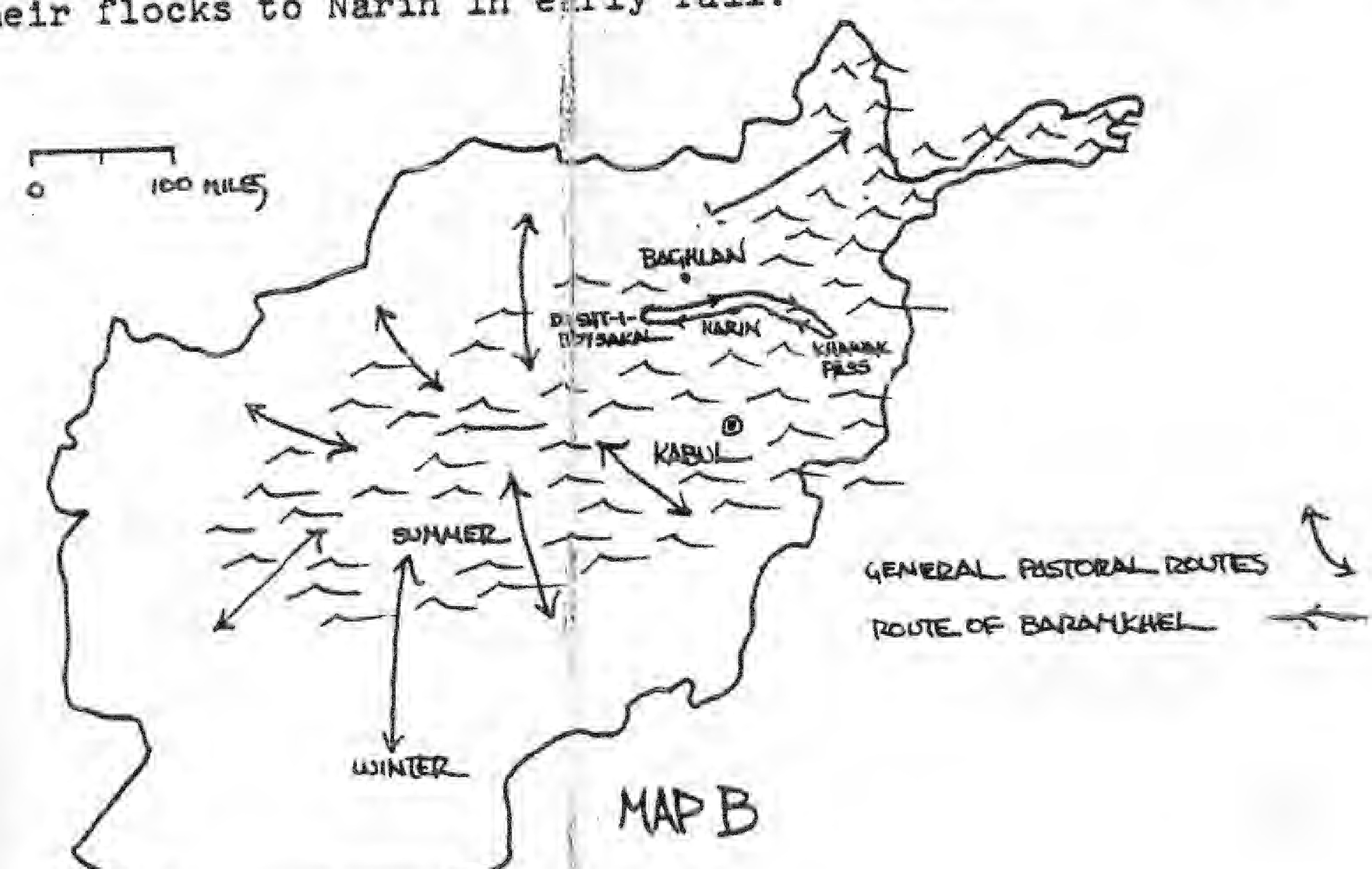
Nomads carry on extensive trade with sedentary village communities which lie along their migratory routes; they exchange clarified butter, other dairy products, and wool, along with tea, sugar, and cloth which they have obtained from urban centers for meat, grain, gelims (flat-weave rugs), and other articles from the villagers. This trade is largely in the hands of males but females also participate to some degree, especially in exchange involving dairy products. In many areas of the country, such as the Hazarajat, villagers have accepted pastoralists' products on credit, thus accumulating considerable debt, and have subsequently had to turn over portions of their land to the nomads.

When in close proximity to larger urban communities, both provincial centers and the capital of Kabul, nomads enter the cities to carry on their economic activities. In addition to marketing their sheep and other livestock-related products such as wool and clarified butter, nomadic males in Kabul often travel from compound to compound and cut urban dwellers' lawns with small sickles sometimes free of charge or for the price of

approximately 10 afghanis, and take the cuttings for their flocks; this especially occurs when suitable pasturage is lacking. Kuchie women are frequently seen striding down city streets in the early morning balancing earthenware pots of yogurt on their heads which they sell door-to-door or to passersby for approximately 6 afghanis a pound.

To many a sedentary Afghan male and female, the life of the nomad is looked upon with admiration and also a degree of envy. In spite of their harsh lifestyle, the Kuchies' freedom of movement is romanticized in Afghan folklore and poetry, and the proud manner in which both nomadic men and women carry themselves indeed conveys the impression of carefree nonchalance.

In this sociocultural profile of the lifestyle of nomadic women, my subject will be a group of Pushtun pastoralists in northern Afghanistan of the Lakenkhel lineage, specifically the sub-lineage of Baramkhel. This is a relatively prosperous group which has been undergoing gradual sedentarization for the last half century (Balikci 1976); with government assistance, a process which is still going on throughout the country with respect to the sedentarization of nomads, the Baramkhel began to obtain land decades ago in the valley of Narin, Baghlan province, and today they exhibit an economy of both pastoralism and agriculture. As Map B illustrates, in the winter they are settled near Narin, but in the early spring they travel westward with their large flocks of fat-tailed sheep, camels, horses, and a few donkeys and cows to the lowland pastures of Dasht-i-Boysakal where a series of lambing camps are established. As the weather grows warmer, they make the long trek westward into higher altitudes of some 4,000 meters near Khawak Pass, spend the summer months there, and then return with their flocks to Narin in early fall.



MAP B

(After Dupree 1973)

During the short period of time that I travelled with the Baramkhel, they were moving through Dasht-i-Boysakal and later began their migration westward. It was early spring, the ewes had lambed, and the kinsmen inhabiting the nine black tents were continually busy with a variety of pastoral activities. The family unit in whose tent I stayed was composed of a 50-year-old woman who was one of the four wives of Haji Saib (the elderly leader of the Baramkhel who had remained in Narin for the summer), her oldest son of 35, his 25-year-old wife, and their three young sons. In a nearby tent was an older son of Haji Saib by another wife (who was often at odds with his half-brother), his first spouse and their three children, and a second wife who was childless. The activities of the females of these tents along with others in the camp from the basis of the following discussion.

These women enjoy their pastoral life much more than their sedentary existence in Narin; they often mention that in spite of their heavy workload while migrating, in the mountain pastures they are much freer than they are in their winter compounds, the weather is invigorating, and their children are healthier. Definitely, the women of the camp take extreme pride in their role as Kuchies.

The attire of these Pushtun females includes a loose-fitting long-sleeved dress usually of a deep red or flower print, vest, pajama-like tambans, and Soviet-made rubber galoshes; these garments are sewn during the winter. Younger women and girls wear large red chadars (headscarves) over skullcaps and braided hair, while older females favor black. As is common for "young brides," or those individuals in their first decade of marriage, these women's dress is especially fancy and includes numerous coins sewn to the sleeves and hemlines. Thus in accord with their interpretation of Muslim tenets, only the face, hands, and feet of the female are visible (I was frequently asked why my dress didn't have longer sleeves, and told of the value of Islamic teachings by the women). Although the younger women pray infrequently, older matriarchs religiously observe prayer five times daily. In some respects their knowledge of religious detail is limited, however, and a number of women are not sure if they are of the Sunni or Shia sect of Islam.

These nomadic females--especially young wives--are continually involved in various tasks from morning until night. The daughter-in-law of Haji Saib, seven months pregnant with her fourth child, is always awake before dawn preparing the fire for breakfast tea. When her mother-in-law, husband, and three sons awaken, she folds up the toshaks (mattresses) and quilts (which are prepared in winter), and arranges them neatly behind the center tent pole where they form a comfortable backrest by day. After a brief breakfast of black tea and unleavened bread, she quickly rinses the teacups, stores them near the quilts for future use, and sweeps the tent floor.

in general, eastern sectors of the country exhibit higher densities than those in the west. A figure of about 39 persons per square mile has been set forth for the nation as a whole, but it must be remembered that only 10-12% of the land is fit for cultivation; thus in this perspective a much higher population density of approximately 400 persons per square mile of cultivated land exists (Kerr 1977:63)

Some of the most recent governmental estimates concerning the total Afghan population have been compiled by the Central Statistics Office (CSO), and are based on a review of previous sources such as civil registration data, the 1967 Agricultural Survey, Afghan Demographic Studies (ADS) data, and estimates from both the Ministry of Planning and the United Nations. This information is included in Table 1.

TABLE 1: CENTRAL STATISTICS OFFICE (CSO) ESTIMATES OF THE AFGHAN POPULATION 1975-1976

	N	%
SETTLED	14,260,000	85.6
Rural	11,870,000	71.2
Urban	2,390,000	14.3
NOMADIC	2,405,000	14.4
Male	8,666,000	52.0
Female	7,999,000	48.0
TOTAL POPULATION	16,665,000	100.0

(Source: Central Statistics Office 1975-1976)

In contrast, a somewhat lower estimate has been recently compiled by the World Bank (1978) which is based on preliminary national census work, civil registration information, and ADS data:

Her husband along with a few men from other tents brings all of the ewes near camp, and women from each tent pick up their earthenware crocks in preparation for the morning milking. At this stage in their migration, the rams are pastured far from camp in the care of hired shepherds, but the 50-60 ewes and their lambs are kept nearby. Each woman is responsible for milking only the sheep which are the property of her tent. Usually one or two men are responsible for keeping the flock together, and young sons or daughters hold each ewe in turn tightly by the neck as their mothers collect the daily milk supply. All know exactly to whom each sheep belongs, and as women go from ewe to ewe, they joke with eachother as they exchange recent gossip. A few of the young girls always are with the women's infants and toddlers on the grass near the flock. By 8:30 or 9:00 the process is completed and, balancing the full crocks of warm milk on their heads, the women return to their respective tents.

The lambs are then released from their reed pen on the edge of camp where they have safely spent the night and are allowed to run to the flock of ewes to milk; young girls and boys help the lambs to locate their mothers.

Back in her tent the young wife separates some of the 1-1 1/2 gallons of milk she had collected for later use, pours the remainder into a large pot, and prepares the day's supply of yogurt. The yogurt that has been prepared the day before she pours into a large mashk (sheepskin bag). In the morning sun she sits on the edge of the tent and begins to shake the skin bag back and forth on the ground to obtain butter and dogh (buttermilk). As she works, she carries on a conversation with her mother-in-law, and is often interrupted by the crying of one of her sons. Leaving her dairy work, she then begins to make the family's daily supply of bread. Flour which they have brought with them from Narin is mixed with water, the bread dough is covered and allowed to stand for awhile, and she returns to the mashk.

Gathering brush and dung which is stored next to the tent, she later prepares the firepit for bread-baking. A large tawa (steel skillet) is placed over the fire, dough is laid on the skillet, and 6-8 pieces of flat bread are prepared. The young woman's son sits nearby waiting for her to give him a piece of fresh warm bread, and usually she allows the four-year-old to make a small piece for himself on the edge of the skillet. The completed staple is then wrapped in thick cloth and stored near the firepit.

Water is an extremely valuable commodity for the Bahramkhel. In many Kuchie camps, women have the task of obtaining water in either cans or sheepskin bags from nearby streams or wells, but for the Bahramkhel, hired shepherds fetch water in oil cans from a distant river and bring it to the camp on donkeys. Finished

with her task of bread-baking, the young wife carefully fills a bucket with water from the oil cans near the tent and goes off to water her husband's horse which is tethered on the other side of a hill behind camp. After the horse has finished drinking, she moves him to another hillside for better grazing and returns to camp.

Lunch is a casual meal; sometimes her husband, a hired shepherd, or kinsmen from other tents are present, but usually the young woman simply boils some tea for herself, mother-in-law, and sons which they drink along with eating yogurt and fresh bread.

After resting for a few minutes and washing the few lunch dishes, the afternoon chores begin. Usually the early afternoon is spent in the preparation of sheep's wool, although if time permits this work is begun in the morning. Taking the raw wool which has been stored since the shearing of the sheep in burlap bags under the family's bedding, the young wife spreads on the tent floor and begins to beat it with a long slender stick to open up and clean the matted substance. When sufficiently fluffed a major portion is returned to the burlap bags for later use, but the woman keeps a sufficient amount to hand spin into twine. Wrapping the fluffy wool around her left arm, she begins to spin it onto a wooden spindle and soon she has a growing ball of yarn in her right hand. This is a common pastime for pastoral females of all ages, and it is probably one of the first skills a young girl learns. Unlike other tasks, spinning does not limit one's mobility, and thus spindle and wool are taken along when visiting other tents or when involved in other activities. Indeed, with some women it seems to have become a habit. The spun wool is accumulated and stored in bags when migrating, and later the men sell it upon their return to Narin. Women in other nomadic groups often make small flat-weave rugs or floor coverings of felt, but these activities do not exist in this camp.

The black wool tents of the Baramkhel are not made by the women but by a team of travelling male weavers. Although the cloth structures are utilized for years they are in need of continual repair, and often the young wife spends an hour patching the tent with pieces of old material, large needle, and wool yarn which she had spun.

Women usually send children of both sexes into the hillsides surrounding the camp to collect dung for fuel in pieces of burlap cloth, although sometimes women themselves participate in this activity also. The task of gathering brush is left for the hired shepherds to complete.

On some days, dogh (buttermilk) is strained through thin cloth and the resulting substance, chaka, is mixed with salt and formed into small balls which are allowed to dry in the sun for an afternoon. This dairy product, called qurut, is able to be kept

indefinitely and, in addition to being consumed in dry form, it can later be mixed with water and used as a sauce. Each tent keeps a large supply of qurut on hand, accumulating more and more as their summer migration progresses, and later selling a portion of such in Narin.

Each family member possesses two changes of clothes, and every one to two weeks the young wife assembles a large load of clothing to be washed. The soap utilized is either that which her husband had purchased in a distant town which is produced in a soap factory of Kabul, or a home-made variety which her mother-in-law prepares from bone marrow and other substances. The washing of clothes takes at least a few hours, and the garments are later spread on the ground near the tent to dry.

Later in the afternoon the woman again waters her husband's horse, changes the animal's grazing area, and then milks the family cow. The milk obtained from this animal is usually drunk by the family members--especially the children==at meals.

Sometimes tea is prepared in the late afternoon by the mother-in-law, which allows the young woman to sit for a few minutes and relax. On days when it rains, which are infrequent, she is unable to work in the open air and sleeps for a few hours inside the tent until the rain stops.

The woman's preparation of the evening meal begins between 5:00 and 6:00. Usually shir-birinj (milk-rice) is cooked, which involves the initial cleaning of the rice itself--a staple which, like flour, the family has also brought with them from Narin. This is added to a large pot of boiling milk and stirred occasionally as it simmers for more than an hour. At dusk all of the family assembles for dinner which also includes bread and tea. Usually all members eat from the same platter, but if male guests are present the men are provided with a separate dish of rice. With darkness the kerosene lantern is lighted, and as the children fall asleep the adult members usually converse for awhile over tea as the young wife washes the dinner dishes. She then spreads out the matresses and quilts, arranges her sleeping sons upon them, turns out the lantern, and the famly thus ends another day.

* * *

In contrast to the physically strenuous work undertaken by the young woman, her mother-in-law's daily activities are of a somewhat different nature. The old woman, who is frequently bothered by rheumatism and has failing eyesight but is nonetheless quite spry, serves as a constant supervisor of the younger female's work and also assists her whenever possible. Usually most of her day is taken up with spinning of wool, boiling an occasional pot of tea, patching tent flaps, taking care of her grandsons, and

visiting. There is much visiting between tents by both males and females, and the old woman, a skilled conversationalist, entertains all who come; other camp members being kinsmen, the atmosphere is quite casual and in fact many an individual falls asleep for awhile in the cool tent before going out into the warm afternoon sun.

Although her mother-in-law often visits other tents, the young woman does not; not only does she have limited spare time, but also such activity is not looked upon as a respectable pastime for a young wife. When male outsiders from other camps approach she initially covers her face with her scarf, and when her husband entertains such guests in the family's tent she usually busies herself with something in a far corner away from the men.

Her mother-in-law is much more open in these instances, however, and takes part in many discussions with males. Indeed, she is an extremely powerful individual, not only in the domestic domain as mentioned above, but also in the public sphere as a prime counsellor to her son who is often competing with his older half-brother in a neighboring tent for political power, and as confidant to other male camp members with whom she speaks.

As Nelson (1973, 1974) has noted in other Middle Eastern societies, this is a case in which a female is able to exert considerable influence, both directly and indirectly, in the public domain. This aged and respected woman can be considered an <u>information broker</u> who, through a variety of manipulative techniques, can effectively channel or withhold information from other politically active males in her society.

In contrast, the young woman's limited sphere of influence is largely within her tent, and she actively participates in decisions relating to this domain. Communication between husband and wife is quite open, often joking in tone, and although the young woman is unable to travel to the bazaars of nearby urban centers, her husband receives orders from her concerning desired articles such as a new rice platter or lantern. Relations between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are close, which allows for an efficient working partnership. Other tents are not so fortunate, however, and spats between husband/wife and also mother-in-law/daughter-in-law occur; in general, such relations seem to depend in part upon the specific personalities involved, along with a young woman's willingness to accept orders from other family members.

Decisions dealing with camp moves are in the hands of males, and usually are finalized only at the last minute; the women are then informed and they immediately begin to pack up their belongings, retrieve the few potatoes and onions which have been buried near the tents for preservation, take down the tents with the aid of a male to take down the central pole, and help to load

the camels. Accustomed to the event, all males and females over the age of four participate in this flurry of activity. The camp then moves on in small groups, depending upon which tents are assembled. Some women ride horses and carry their toddlers with them, especially if they are pregnant or when they are crossing rivers, but the large majority of females travel by foot along with many of the males. Upon reaching new pasturage, tents are put up and housekeeping begins again.

\# \# \#

With respect to these nomadic women's problems, most frequently mentioned is the health situation of their families, especially that of their children. Adults complain mostly of leg pains and respiratory problems such as colds, while children seem to be most frequently bothered by digestive difficulties such as diarrhea and constipation, along with colds. A wide variety of home remedies which employ herbs easily obtained from hillsides is generally known by the Kuchies, and these are often utilized. In addition, a travelling hakim (indigenous health practitioner/ herbalist) frequents the community when their migratory paths happen to cross, and indigenous preparations for a number of ills can be purchased from him for a few afghanis each. One of the old women in the camp, a skilled individual of 50, delivers all of the community's babies and although she does not consider herself a practicing dai (traditional midwife), she is often consulted for advice concerning women's and children's health problems. When in close proximity to urban centers, the Kuchies--especially the males--sometimes visit existing modern medical facilities in search of help, although the cost of such is considered quite high. Always accompanied by a male, on occasion a sick child is also taken to these modern health services by the old woman who serves the group as a semi-dai.

The interest the Bahramkhel take in the welfare of their children cannot be overemphasized, and offspring are highly valued. Every youngster under the age of two wears a number of tawiz (religious amulets) which are sewed to either bonnets or clothing as protection from evil forces. Two women in the camp who have yet to give birth to children are extremely concerned about their infertility, and have experimented with indigenous methods to induce pregnancy but to no avail. Interestingly, one of these women's co-wives mentions that she wishes that such a pregnancy would occur and that the family unit would grow in size. In general, children of both sexes are valued, and in fact the young wife described above who is seven months pregnant repeatedly states that both she and her husband hope that a baby girl would be born. Boys are thought to "grow up" too soon and to be less affectionate. Of course this is a couple who already have three healthy sons, and thus it must be considered to be somewhat of an exceptional case.

* * *

Changes are occurring in the lives of the Bahramkhel, probably stemming largely from their sedentary winter existence in Narin. Although only a few of the males are literate and none of the females of the camp have gone to school, one of their youths is in a military boarding school in Kabul, and a few of the girls who remained in Narin for the summer are attending elementary school. This is a group which has proved successful in both pastoralism and agriculture, both males and females seemingly being able to make the transition between the two lifestyles with ease. Although the process of change seems to be in the direction of sedentarization, the enthusiasm exhibited by the Bahramkhel in their pastoral activities leaves this somewhat open to question.

III. PROGRAMS RELATING TO AFGHAN WOMEN

At present a variety of programs which pertain both directly and indirectly to women of Afghanistan exist, and some of the most important of these will be reviewed here. During recent fieldwork (March-June 1978) in both Kabul and the provinces, a number of individuals who are involved in these activities were interviewed, and brief summaries of some of these discussions concerning Afghan women and the development process are also included. This work was greatly facilitated through the assistance of my counterpart, Sharifa, and her valuable insights relating to this complex subject are appreciated.

During our research a change of government occurred, and with the revolution of April 27, 1978, the Democractic Republic of Afghanistan was established. Subsequently there have been alterations in governmental organization which relate specifically to some of the programs mentioned below, and changes in personnel have been many. Where applicable, these recent developments have also been included in my discussion.

Prior to examining the present-day situation, a short historical account of women's programs in Afghanistan is necessary. One of the first leaders of the nation to take interest in such activities was King Amanullah (1919-1929). Intent upon social change, Amanullah initiated a series of reforms relating to Afghan females which included the establishment of the first girls' school. Since the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan (1863-66; 1868-79), Quranic classes for girls had existed, but Amanullah desired a more extensive curriculum for the students. With the aid of Queen Suraya who served as principal, Masturat (Purity) Girls' School was set up in Kabul in 1920, and initially some 40 students attended (Mermon 119:1975-1976). In the next few years

of the king's progressive reign, additional educational facilities for females appeared in the capital city, and by 1925 it was proclaimed that formal education for the daughters of civil servants was obligatory.

In 1928 Queen Suraya authored a series of articles for a Kabul newspaper concerning women's rights in Islam, and noted that religious tenets did not advocate extreme veiling; in addition, a news bulletin was printed on green paper specifically for women. The queen arranged meetings with a number of females throughout the capital, and she urged that they participate in the development of the nation. Indeed, the city of Kabul was apportioned into districts, and representatives were selected from each area to work for women's education and general welfare. In addition, Suraya also organized women's courts to deal with their problems of maltreatment and divorce.

Shortly thereafter Amanullah sent a number of Afghan women to Turkey to study midwifery, and some females began to work in the capital city's match factory. In addition to attempting to abolish arranged marriages and polygyny, the king finally ruled that even the wearing of <u>chadri</u> was illegal (Stewart 1973). Such radical changes were met with strong resistance by Afghanistan's conservative populace and, although a number of additional factors were also involved, Amanullah's somewhat premature attempts at women's emancipation led to his abdication in 1929.

Women's programs assumed a low profile for decades following these events. Then in 1959, under the direction of Mohammad Daoud, who was then Prime Minister during the reign of King Zahir Shah, females again were allowed to appear unveiled in public. Subsequently a new era in women's activities was initiated. Since Daoud assumed leadership of the country after the coup d'etat of 1973, he had been generally considered the major patron of the Afghan women's movement, the official expression of which was largely through the activities of the government-sponsored Afghan Women's Organization.

The present regime has also voiced its interest in the status of the female sector of the populace. Noor Mohammad Taraki, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the newly created Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, presented his first public statement to the nation via radio on May 9, 1978, and included the subject of women in his review of the revolutionary goals of the new government. The twelfth goal out of 30 points that were mentioned concerning domestic policy was "<u>the ensuring of equality of rights of women with men in all social, economic, political, and civil aspects.</u>" At such an initial stage in the new government's rule, this official reference to the females of Afghanistan is encouraging. In addition, included in the initial group of new ministers was a female physician, Dr. Anahita Ratebzad. She was appointed Minister of Social Affairs, and

placed under her supervision were a variety of programs relating to Afghan women, some of which had previously been under the auspices of other ministries.

AFGHAN (DEMOCRATIC) WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION:

Founded in 1946, the Afghan Women's Organization (Masesay Naswan) was a governmental institution affiliated with the Ministry of Education. Included in the previous government's seven-year plan was a budget for the organization of 98 million afghanis (US$2.5 million) which represented about .2 percent of the total amount allotted for all government ministries and offices. Its headquarters in Kabul was housed in a large compound in Shar-i-Nau (New City), and there were 16 provincial branches located in major urban centers throughout the provinces. As stated in Article 1 of its charter (Mermon 120:1976-1977), the basic goal of the organization was:

> ...to further extend the women's movement by increasing the participation of Afghan women in the progress and modernization of the Afghan community...through the increase in training and education of women...and the improvement of their social and political status.

Since the recent revolution, this group of economic and also educated elite women has been replaced by the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization (Sozman-i-Zanaan-i-Democratic-i-Afghanistan) in both Kabul and the provinces. Founded more than a decade ago, this is a leftist-oriented women's political group also composed of the educated elite which is associated with the People's Party. The present organization is under the auspices of newly established Ministry of Social Affairs, and the compound of the previous Afghan Women's Organization (AWO) has become the location of both the new ministry and the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization (ADWO).

Although many changes will undoubtedly be made in the future, when I spoke in June with Suraya, the new president of ADWO, she mentioned that major pre-revolutionary activities of AWO were to be continued. Thus a review of these undertakings is of value in spite of the fact that many personnel changes have subsequently occurred.

Mermon: Since 1954 AWO had published a women's magazine of the Good Housekeeping genre by the name of Mermon (Woman). After the recent revolution, no publication of the ADWO has appeared, but it plans to produce one shortly. Included here is a brief review of some important topics included in previous issues of Mermon; not only do these provide valuable information about one sector of the Afghan female populace, but also it will

be interesting to compare the orientations of this magazine with the future publications of ADWO.

Approximately fifty pages in length and including both black and white and color photos, some 3,000 copies of Mermon were printed monthly by AWO. In addition to being sold for 15 afghanis (approximately 40¢) on street corners and book stores in Kabul and in the major provincial centers, copies were distributed to all of the girls' lycee libraries, Afghan embassies abroad, and a number of foreign women's organizations. This magazine contained articles written in both Farsi and Pushtu which were often translations from the foreign press, and since 1976, a short English section had also been included.

Although Iranian women's magazines also find circulation, Mermon enjoyed considerable popularity among a small portion of Afghan female society, especially among educators and those interested in the activities of the organization, and it often could be seen on coffee tables in the guest rooms of Kabul literati. A brief examination of the contents of the magazine will illustrate some of the interests of these women; each issue contained the following general selections:

- Government-related events (celebrations of national holidays, etc.)
- Afghan Women's Organization activities (conferences, training programs, etc.)
- International women's activities
- Islam and women
- Famous Afghan women (poets, singers, historical figures, etc.)
- Family health (children's illnesses, pregnancy, nutrition, etc.)
- Child psychology
- Advice to readers (marital difficulties, general family problems, etc.)
- Poetry
- Fiction (romance, adventure)
- Cooking recipes
- Fashion
- Beauty tips/hair styles

Cover photos were often of women wearing traditional Afghan ostumes from various regions of the country, while featured in ther sections was the latest in western fashion. In the last ew years articles frequently dealt with the subject of working omen, and women's rights was also a popular topic; recent ssues featured articles such as the following: "562 Million omen are Working in the World," "As Long as Women Depend on Men here is No Real Freedom For Them," "We Shall Fight Any bstructions On the Way to Women's Development and Progress," nd "Females Who Defend Women's Rights."

Given the small percentage of the populace who are literate and who had access to Mermon, its impact cannot be considered to be of any great magnitude, and often its contents were somewhat irrelevant to the lifestyles of its readers. It did serve a valuable communicative purpose in spite of its limitations, however, and illustrated some of the goals, concerns, and impatience of a small but growing group of Afghan women.

Mermon/Culture Heroines: Reference to some of the most famous culture heroines of Afghanistan, such as Rabia Balkhi and Malalai, was also frequently made in issues of Mermon. These individuals were far from being subservient women; on the contrary, bravery and sacrifice characterize their legendary actions, and these attributes continue at present to be idealized qualities for Afghan females as well as males.

Rabia Balkhi was a renowned Tajik poetess who was the daughter of the king of Balkh during the twelfth century. So respected was her intellect that she served as advisor to her father's ministers. Rabia fell in love with a slave, Baktash, and when her brother found the many love poems she had written, she refused to obey him and give up her romance. The lovers continued to meet secretly on the desert, and subsequently Rabia's brother imprisoned her in a deserted public bath. Her last poem before her death she wrote on the walls of the dungeon in her own blood. Today pilgrims continue to visit Rabia's grave in Balkh, a number of girls' schools bear her name, and a few years ago Afghan Films produced a full-length film of the life of this poetess.

Another major heroine by the name of Malalai was a water carrier for the Afghan troops during the Second Anglo-Afghan War in the late nineteenth century. Legend has it that when the Afghan soldiers were on the verge of retreating at the battle of Maiwand near Kandahar, this brave Pushtun woman rushed onto the battlefield and called to them, thus shaming the men into returning to fight. As she waved her veil in the air, the troops followed Malalai's urging and later decisively won the battle against the British. One of the capital's largest girls' schools is named after this woman, and just recently the maternity hospital in Kabul was named Malalai.

A third heroine of a more general nature is the Afghan mother. Not actually surprising in this family-oriented and high-fertility society, her patience and sacrifice for her children are idealized in many a poem and song, and Mothers' Day is a major holiday in Afghanistan. In the past, the Afghan Women's Organization has annually held large Mothers' Day programs in Zainab Auditorium and, nominated by their children, Mothers of the Year have been chosen. A special issue of Mermon devoted to mothers has also appeared annually which has included

TABLE 2: WORLD BANK ESTIMATES OF THE AFGHAN POPULATION 1976-1977

	N	%
SETTLED	12,500,000	89.3
Rural	10,500,000	75.0
Urban	2,000,000	14.3
NOMADIC	1,500,000	10.7
TOTAL POPULATION	14,000,000	100.0

(Source: World Bank 1978:50)

More definite delineation of the Afghan population must await the coming national census. It is clearly evident, however, that the majority of the nation's populace - approximately 85% - resides in rural regions, and a considerable proportion of the population is also nomadic.

With respect to urban settlements, the capital city of Kabul is by far the largest center; with a population of almost 600,000 inhabitants, it contains approximately 40% of the nation's urban population. In addition, a number of other large provincial urban centers, which generally ring the central mountains (Map A), exist throughout the country.

TABLE 3: MAJOR URBAN CENTERS OF AFGHANISTAN 1972-1973

	Population	Percent of Total Urban Population
Kabul	597,000	39.0
Kandahar	160,000	10.5
Herat	111,000	7.3
Mazar Sharif	77,000	5.1
Kunduz	46,000	3.0
Jalalabad	31,000	2.0

(Source: Afghan Demographic Studies 1975)

biographies of each woman who received an award in addition to poetry and artwork submitted by readers. Biographies usually stress the poverty these women have had to endure along with the economic activities such as tailoring, embroidery, etc., which they have undertaken to support and educate their children (who usually have all received university degrees).

Along with changing the official date of Mothers' Day, the new regime has recently stressed the important role of the Afghan mother in a symbolic sense. In early May, 1978, Dr. Anahita Ratebzad (who was then Minister of Social Affairs) met with a group of women at the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization along with a number of students from Rabia Balkhi Lycee to celebrate the revolution. In addition to stressing the inequalities women of the country have had to endure, she compared the revolution itself to a newborn baby which needs nurturing from all Afghan mothers to survive and grow. A comparison which is immediately understood by many Afghan females, in later meetings with kindergarten teachers, in other speeches, and also when I interviewed her in June Anahita repeated this simile.

Mermon/Laws Pertaining to Women: In a series of 1977 issues of Mermon, sections of the Civil Law of Afghanistan which pertained specifically to Afghan women and their legal rights were published in both Farsi and Pushtu. These were laws that had been passed by Parliament in 1976, all were in accord with Islamic legal tenets, and some of them were in fact quite supportive of women.

It must be remembered, however, that this women's periodical was limited in circulation. A further communicative drawback was the extremely formal style in which the laws were written; this made them difficult for readers who were even university graduates to understand fully. Moreover, in this largely illiterate society where for many the government is a distant authority which is best to avoid, the majority of both sexes are not aware of the existence of these laws at all. For these men and women, tradition is de facto, and females frequently suffer; for example, divorce may be impossible for females to obtain, or women may have to "give" their inheritance to their brothers.

The new government plans to rewrite the Civil Law and as Suraya, President of the Afghan Democratic Women's Organization, mentioned during our interview in June, many portions relating to women are scheduled to be changed. However, on May 14, 1978, Decree #3 (Article 1) of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan stated that until further notification, most laws which previously existed are still applicable. Thus the following selections of the Civil Law are relevant to this discussion:

Article 48: Documents pertaining to marriage, divorce, and the proof of parentage and succession shall be registered with the courts.

MARRIAGE

Article 60: Marriage is a contract which legalizes intercourse between man and woman with the object to establish a family, and it creates rights and obligations for both parties.

Article 61: The marriage contract shall be registered, and three copies shall be made and distributed to courts, husband, and wife.

Article 62: Engagement is permissible if the woman is not married nor in her divorce period (Eddat).

*Eddat: a three-month period following divorce during which the divorcee is not permitted to marry according to Shariat jurisprudence

*Death Eddat: a four-month period during which a female whose husband has died cannot marry

Article 63: A man cannot request marriage of a woman during her divorce period.

Article 64: Engagement is a promise for marriage and either of the two parties--man or woman--can give this up.

Article 65: If a gift is given and the engagement is broken, either party can demand to have the gift (or cash equivalent) returned.

Article 66: Requests of marriage must be asked frankly and received openly in front of witnesses.

Article 68: Badal (the exchange of two women between two tribal groups, etc.) without the individual's agreement is illegal.

Article 69: Where a person marries two women, each shall be entitled to a separate marriage portion.

Article 70: Marriage is not adequate until the male completes the age of 18 and the female completes the age of 16.

Article 71:
a. Where the female is not 16 years of age, marriage may be concluded only through her father or the competent court.
b. the marriage of a minor girl whose age is less than 15 shall never be permissible.

Article 77: The contract of marriage (nikah) is accepted by the court if:
1. the offer is made by one party and accepted by the other
2. this is performed in the presence of two witnesses
3. there are no legal prohibitions.

Article 80: When a wise girl attaining her majority age marries, her marriage shall be binding.

Article 81: Marriage to one's direct ancestors or to his own descendants or to the descendants of one's father and mother and the first layer of descendants of one's forefathers is prohibited.

Article 82: Marriage to the widows of one's ancestors or descendants is prohibited.

Article 86: Polygamy (polygyny) can take place after these conditions are fulfilled:

1. when there is no fear of injustice between the wives
2. when a person has financial sufficiency to sustain the wives (that is, when he can provide food, clothes, a suitable house, and medical care)
3. when there is legal expediency (that is, when the first wife is childless or when she suffers from diseases which are hard to be treated)

Article 87: The female whose husband does not follow Article 86 can demand a divorce from the court.

NOTE: A selection appearing in Mermon (1977) noted that Article 88 contained a statement of the right of a female to work in public and earn a salary; it was mentioned that with economic independence will come social independence. It also noted that Article 88 dealt with the fact that both male and female must equally agree to a divorce. I could not locate this in the original Civil Law, however.

Article 89: During marriage when a person conceals his previous marriage to more than one wife and when he has not secured clear consent of a woman, the newly married wife can demand divorce.

EVIDENCES OF MARRIAGE

Article 90: A complete marriage shall create all rights and obligations for the spouses, such as maintenance of the wife, right to inheritance, obligation to prove blood lineage, and to avoid prohibited acts.

Article 91: It is prohibited to marry the sister of one's wife.

Article 92: Marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim man shall be null. A Muslim man can marry a woman who believes in divine books, however (Jew, Christian, etc.). Children shall be subject to the religion of their father.

Article 93: If a man has a Muslim wife he can nonetheless marry a non-Muslim woman.

Article 99: The wife shall be entitled to a specified marriage portion (mahr; bride price, bride payment).

Article 100: Property whose ownership is transferrable may be determined as the marriage portion.

Article 104: The woman can demand the husband to determine mahr after or prior to copulation.

Article 105: If separation takes place before copulation, the wife shall be entitled to one half of the mahr.

Article 106: If separation takes place before copulation by the wife, the mahr shall be abolished.

Article 107: If separation takes place before copulation, the wife is entitled to full clothing.

Article 108: If separation takes place after copulation the mahr must be given.

Article 109: If a woman is engaged to a sick man who dies, he must have previously written her share of inheritance in his will.

Article 110: The mahr is the sole property of the wife; she can exercise any ownership power over her marriage portion.

Article 111: Once the mahr is given it cannot be taken back from the woman.

Article 113: A father cannot take the mahr from his daughter.

Article 114: The wife cannot be forced to place all or part of her marriage portion at the disposal of the husband or any other person. If the husband dies before the woman receives the mahr, she has the right of inheritance and also the mahr.

RESIDENCE

Article 115: The husband shall provide suitable residence for his wife.

Article 116: If one has more than one wife, they cannot be forced to reside together.

ALIMONY (MAINTENANCE)

Article 117: After a marriage contract (nikah) is settled, the man must provide alimony for the woman even if she still resides in her father's household.
If the woman has refused without any reason to reside in the household of the man, he need not pay alimony.
The woman has the right to refuse to go to her husband's residence if it is not suitable or when her immediate mahr has not been paid.

Article 118: Alimony consists of food, clothes, residence, and medical treatment.

Article 119: If the husband refuses to pay alimony and the court discovers this, he will be forced to pay.

Article 120: Even if the husband is in jail he must pay alimony.

Article 121: If the husband is absent, the court has the power to take his possessions to pay alimony.

Article 122: The woman cannot obtain alimony if:
1. she goes out of the residence without permission of the husband or when she goes out for illegal purposes.
2. she does not submit to conjugal affairs.

Article 123: The husband must provide alimony as well as he is financially able; this must be enough to sustain the woman.

Article 125: If the husband has not paid alimony for a period of time and he is judged to be responsible for this, the amount must be paid in retrospect.

Article 126: Following divorce during the period of Eddat (three-month period during which divorcee cannot marry) alimony must be paid by the husband.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

Article 133: Annulling a marriage is acceptable when:

At the time of marriage:
1. the process of nikah (forming of the marriage contract) is not conducted correctly
2. one of the related parties is insane (man or woman)
3. there is deficiency in the amount of mahr (marriage payment) fixed for the woman

Later:
4. there is cusing

DIVORCE

Article 135: Divorce shall be issued by the husband or the authoritative court.

Article 137: Divorce granted by the husband shall be valid even though he may be stupid or sick (but not mentally retarded).

Article 139: The husband can divorce his wife orally or in writing.

Article 140: An incapacitated wife shall not be divorced by her husband or her husband's father.

Article 141: The following individuals cannot obtain a divorce from their wives:
1. a husband who is deranged
2. a very elderly man who is senile
3. a drunkard

Article 144: The husband must repeat three times that he divorces his wife.

SEPARATION DUE TO A DEFECT

Article 176: A wife can demand separation when her husband is the victim of a disease whose recovery is impossible or when intercourse with him is harmful.

SEPARATION DUE TO HARM

Article 183: When a wife receives harm from intercourse she can demand separation.

SEPARATION DUE TO ABSENCE

Article 194: When a husband is gone for more than three years a wife can demand separation.

PARENTAGE

Article 218: Any child born to a married couple belongs to the husband.

Article 237: The mother has the priority right to care for a child during marriage; during a separation period the mother or her relatives have the right to care for a child for two years.

Article 240: If these individuals cannot care for the child during separation, the husband's relatives have the right to do so.

Article 244: The father of the child pays for child care charges.

Article 248: Where the wife does not cohabit with her husband and where the age of the child is more than five years, the courts may place the child in the care of the spouse who is most interested in the welfare of the child.

Article 249: The care period of a male child shall end when he is seven years of age; the care period of a female child shall end when she is nine years of age.

Article 251: Where it is proven that the person taking care of the child is not in the interest of the child (even if this is the father), the court can place the child in the care of the second person entitled.

INHERITANCE

Article 2001: Causes of inheritance are marriage or blood relations.

Article 2002: Inheritance is in accordance with the shares fixed by the Shariat.

Article 2019: A male receives twice as much inheritance as does a female.

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CIVIL SERVANTS' LAW

Article 34: Civil servants of the female sex are entitled to 30 days of leave before child delivery and 30 days after delivery, but this leave cannot exceed three times over the period of service as a civil servant.

With regard to official employment, equal pay exists for both men and women, and respondents often voiced surprise that any inequality in this regard could exist in other "more advanced" societies. Hiring procedures also appear to be egalitarian in the official realm, although the individual female's ability to cope with more subtle forms of on-the-job discrimination largely determines how long she will survive in the position.

All women over the age of 18 have the right to vote in general elections if they possess a taskira (official registration card); at present, only a very small sector of the female populace have these cards. Many educated women in urban centers (especially in Kabul) do exercise their right to vote, however, and are quite proud of this privilege.

Some women from Kabul and the provinces are also appointed as representatives in the government's Loya Jirgah (General Assembly), and in 1976-77 12 females nominated by the Afghan Women's Organization participated in this large assembly; many of these women were principals of schools or active members of AWO. It is hoped that the new regime will continue increasing female participation in this area.

Major Activities of the Organization: In both Kabul and the country's major provincial centers, the organization sponsors schools for married women who are otherwise precluded from attending primary and secondary public educational institutions. There are approximately 1,500 students in the Kabul facility enrolled in grades 1-12; 50 female teachers are on the staff and a library, which is also open to the public, is present. Since 1965 more than 800 women have graduated with twelfth grade diplomas, and some have later continued their studies at Kabul University or the Teacher Training Institute. In the provincial centers, coursework is more oriented towards basic literacy; enrollment is considerably lower, and there are no secondary level classes for these women.

Under the auspices of the Vocational Services Department of the organization, a variety of training courses are also conducted in both the capital and provincial branches. Subjects offered include typing, hair dressing, home economics, tailoring, embroidery, and knitting. In the northern and western provincial branches, rug weaving is also taught. The Diplomatic Wives Association has just recently donated a home economics laboratory for the center in Kabul, and there seems to be much enthusiasm

for this subject. In both the capital and the provincial centers I visited, it was mentioned that graduates from the organization's typing courses are in great demand by government offices.

Women who are skilled in tailoring and embroidery may work for the organization itself; articles produced are sold for fixed amounts and the maker receives 30 percent of the selling price. At the center in Kabul there is a small gift shop which sells the handiwork of each provincial branch.

Associated with the Social Services Directorate, a course is also held for women in Kabul in the techniques of social work. Following their studies, they are employed by the organization where they plan activities in the areas of nutrition, child care, and related topics. They work for the "eradication of undesirable customs" such as unwanted arranged marriages, and also assist the organization in its welfare work.

Afghanistan's kindergartens, which are all coeducational, are under the auspices of the organization, and teachers for these institutions are trained at the center in Kabul. At present 174 teachers are active throughout the country, and 145 of these women are employed in the capital city itself. Eleven kindergartens and two nurseries exist in Kabul, while 16 kindergartens and one nursery are found at provincial branches; enrollment totals approximately 5,000 children. The cost for a nine-month term is about 2,000 afghanis (US$50) in Kabul, but in the provinces the sum is somewhat less. Although preference for children of working mothers is given, not all of the students are in this category. The President of Kindergartens and Nurseries, Karima Kishtmand, recently mentioned that with the new regime they plan to establish a number of additional facilities throughout the country; prices will be lowered to enable more families to participate, and such services will be free to the poor.

Seminars and short courses are held twice each year for kindergarten teachers, and similar activities are also frequently organized for women employees who are involved in other fields.

Some welfare-oriented committees exist which are largely voluntary in nature. These include the law committee (a small group of female lawyers which hears women's problems and refers them to the proper courts), the welfare committee (a group which handles in part the mother and child fund for needy widows), and the fine arts committee (a group of artists which plans special issues of Mermon).

Adjacent to the organization's compound in Kabul is Zainab Cinema which provides large auditorium facilities for various conferences and programs. Each year a national conference is held and every province sends two representatives to discuss past

and future activities of the organization. Programs on Mothers' Day, Children's Day, International Health Day, etc., are well attended and publicized in Mermon. Representatives from the organization are also sent abroad to conferences relating to education, health, women's rights, and similar subjects.

Selected Interviews: When in April I spoke with Aziza Aziz, General Secretary to the President, she mentioned that the organization was planning to expand all existing programs and also desired to increase the circulation of Mermon magazine. They seem to have lacked sufficient finances for conferences, however, and it was thus difficult to provide funds for provincial employees to participate in these meetings. Supplies such as typewriters and sewing machines were also deficient. The General Secretary thought that additional training for Afghan women was most needed in the areas of social work, vocational education, and kindergarten teaching, and it was stressed that the organization would easily be able to nominate qualified candidates if future opportunities were presented.

In addition to explaining the organization's many activities, Nasifa Mobariz, General Director of Information and Publication, noted that they planned to begin more intensive work in the rural areas of the country. "We should work to change rural women's thoughts--not their clothes." Programs were to include hygiene, childrearing, handicrafts (with an attempt to preserve traditional designs but improve quality), and agriculture-related undertakings. It was hoped that mobile units, equipped with generators, projectors, and film strips for audio-visual instruction could be utilized. It would be necessary for every provincial branch to have a vehicle, and unfortunately sufficient funds were lacking for such a large-scale undertaking. Some 35 trained social workers were to participate in this work.

In Mazar Sharif, we spoke with the director of the local AWO branch (which had been established in 1963) along with a number of teachers (all female except for one male typing teacher) employed by the organization. The kindergarten was extremely active and contained three separate classes of children. The typing class had so many students that they had to take turns in using the eight machines. Other programs did not appear to be so active, however, but there were a few young girls learning rug weaving, some women sewing uniforms for factory workers, and others involved in embroidery work.

The director was quite positive about her work and thought that the organization's weekly programs on Women's Day at the large mosque of the city were very successful (see profile for Women of Provincial Urban Centers). However, she found the local atmosphere for women's activities extremely conservative. "Women always work hard in their homes, but this isn't acknowledged by their husbands...our women are too subservient to men and don't

know how to stand up for their rights...the husbands don't appreciate our work here and many won't let their wives attend."

Other difficulties were also voiced. Communication with the AWO center in Kabul were thought to be sorely lacking, and the staff felt as if they had been "forgotten." It was mentioned that local problems were not understood and their suggestions were usually ignored by the center. The provincial branch's budget was very limited, and none of the employees were ever nominated for additional training or scholarships. Their compound lease was about to expire and, due to lack of finances, they did not have enough tables and chairs for conferences they wanted to sponsor. In addition, although they wanted to expand their activities into rural areas near Mazar Sharif, they had no vehicle.

When we discussed what types of training programs were felt to be most needed for Afghan women, the response was: "Anything. We need help in education, in health, in all areas." The director said that she personally thought that English training was necessary so that women could read books and magazines published about their areas of specialization and also could then communicate with foreign women....

In conservative Kandahar the director and teachers at the local AWO branch (which had been established in 1957) thought that recently women of the city were developing more interest in their activities. A literacy course was in process in one room, and approximately twelve older women were sitting outside in the morning sun involved in handiwork (Kandahar is famous for its intricate white-thread embroidery). One teacher mentioned emphatically, "The time has come to work for Afghan women. I'll even wear a chadri if that's what it takes to reach conservative women and teach them." The group had been travelling to nearby rural reas with a car obtained from the local government and conducting short classes in family health and nutrition; women from about ten compounds had assembled to listen, and it seemingly was quite successful. Then the car had broken down and this activity had been postponed indefinitely.

A major problem discussed was the lack of qualified teachers to work full-time at the organization; instructors from the public schools came frequently to help, however. Literacy was seen to be the key to women's advancement, and the training of more female teachers was seen to be most important to these professionals.

The Herat branch of AWO seemed to be extremely active, and was in fact finding its compound too small for its planned undertakings. Typing courses, literacy classes, and a kindergarten were in session as we spoke with the local director and a home economics teacher. It was mentioned that the conservative orientation of many of the city's residents made it very difficult

A population pyramid and sex ratios for the total settled population of Afghanistan in 1972-1973 are included in Table 4; urban and rural sectors of the country are quite similar in these respects (Afghan Demographic Studies 1975). The population is extremely youthful, with some 16.5% less than age 5 and 43.2% less than age 15 (World Bank 1978:37). A total dependency ratio (0-14 age group and 65+ age group: 15-64 age group) of 95 exists. Correspondingly, the youth dependency ratio (0-14 age group: 15+ age group) is a high 89; it must be noted, however, that in the ADS survey 25.2% of boys aged 8-14 were reported to be economically active along with 5.0% of girls in the same age group.

Afghan Demographic Studies found a sex ratio of 115.6 to exist for the total settled population. To explain this extremely high figure, two possible reasons may be involved. The first concerns the underreporting of females on the part of male respondents; in spite of the fact that fieldwork for this survey involved the innovative utilization of female interviewers for the gathering of pregnancy histories from a sub-sample of women, the majority of respondents in this conservative society were male household heads who were in some cases reticent to mention female members of their households to a male interviewer or otherwise lacked detailed information on the subject. Secondly, a higher female mortality rate is thought to also be involved. Probably both factors play an explanatory role (Kerr 1977:63). The Central Statistics Office has more recently estimated a lower sex ratio of 108.3 to exist for the nation (Central Statistics Office 1975-1976).

B. <u>MARITAL STATUS</u>:

Marriage is an expected phenomenon for the individual in Afghan society, and the majority of these unions are arranged by his or her respective kinsmen. ADS survey results of 1972-1973 illustrate that almost all Afghans marry at some point during their lives; only 1-2% of either sex aged 65 and over have never married (Afghan Demographic Studies 1975:69; Spitler and Frank 1977:26).

In a review of ADS data, Spitler and Frank (1977:26) note that Afghan females marry at a younger age than males; in the 15-19 year age group almost 50% of females are married as compared to only 8% of males in the same age group. Also utilizing ADS data, Trussell and McWilliams (1978:3) find that mean age at marriage for Afghan males and females differs considerably:

WOMEN AND THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN AFGHANISTAN

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